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ABSTRACT

This document presents the testimony and prepared statements of witnesses in the Congressional hearings on broken families. Following the opening statement of Senator Jeremiah Denton, subcommittee chairman, prepared statements from a panel of witnesses representing the American Psychiatric Association are presented; topics covered in the statements include society's present standards of behavior, the status of the family as an institution, the causes and consequences of family breakdown, and policy recommendations for public agencies and private organizations. Testimony from a panel of witnesses representing several religious communities is given, as well as a prepared statement from Senator Charles E. Grassley of Iowa. In the second session of the hearings, which focus on the role of government in problems of broken families, a panel discussion describing local public and private service programs which help families, and government's role in encouraging such programs, is presented. A discussion by Betty Friedan, George Gilder, and Brigitte Berger is presented, along with testimony addressing the government's role in three issues: women in the 1980's, poverty programs, and the strengthening of the nuclear family. The text of additional articles and publications is provided as well as prepared answers of witnesses to questions asked by Senator Denton. (LLL)

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BROKEN FAMILIES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
FAMILY AND HUMAN SERVICES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

OVERSIGHT ON THE BREAKDOWN OF THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY UNIT, FOCUSING ON THE CAUSES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIETY AND THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN HELPING PREVENT THE BREAKUP OF FAMILIES

SEPTEMBER 22 AND OCTOBER 4, 1983

PART 2

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CONTENTS

STATEMENTS

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1983

Page

American Psychiatric Association, Herbert S. Sacks, M.D., clinical professor of psychiatry and pediatrics, Yale University School of Medicine, on behalf of, prepared statement 73

Carlson, Allan C., Ph. D., executive vice president, the Rockford Institute, Rockford, Ill., prepared statement 38

Decter, Miss Midge, author and executive director, Committee for a Free Word; Dr. Arland Thornton, assistant research scientist, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan; Dr. Allan C. Carlson, executive vice president, the Rockford Institute, Rockford, Ill.; and Dr. Herbert S. Sacks, professor psychiatry and pediatrics, Yale University School of Medicine, on behalf of the American Psychiatric Association, a panel 5

Grassley, Hon. Charles E., a U.S. Senator from State of Iowa, prepared statement 4

Lindsay, Dr. Richard P., director, public communications and special affairs, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; Dennis Rainey, national director, Family Ministries of Campus Crusade for Christ; Dr. Steven L. Preister, director, National Center for Family Studies, Catholic University; and Dr. Herbert Ratner, editor, Child & Family Quarterly, a panel 99

  Prepared statement 103

Preister, Steven, director, National Center for Family Studies, the Catholic University of America, prepared statement 153

Rainey, Dennis, National director, Family Ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ, prepared statement 123

Rosenthal, Rabbi Gilbert S., Temple Beth El, Edarhurst, N.Y., prepared statement 208

Thornton, Dr. Arland, assistant research scientist, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, prepared statement 14

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1983

Ahrens, Diane, county commissioner, Ramsey County Minn.; chairwoman, National Association of Counties' Committee on Children, Youth and Families 275

  Prepared statement 378

Friedan, Betty, author, "The Feminine Mystique" and "The Second Stage"; George Gilder, author, "Wealth and Poverty"; and Brigitte Berger, author, "The War Over the Family", a panel 349

Hardy, Dorcas R., Assistant Secretary for Human Development Services, Department of Health and Human Services, accompanied by Jerry Regier, Director, Office for Families; and David A. Rust, Director, Office of Policy Coordination and Review, OHDS 224

  Prepared statement 236

Johnson, Geneva B., president and chief executive officer, the Family Service Association of America; and Dr. James A. Mays, founder, Adopt-A-Family Endowment, Los Angeles, Calif., a panel 290

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Articles, publications, et cetera:

  Statements of Men Who Are Renowned as Secular Observers of History 148

Articles, publications, et cetera—Continued

Page
Radian Concept, from James Four Productions, Inc 335
Child Allowances: Out of the Welfare, by George Gilder, from the Wall Street Journal, Thursday, September 22, 1983 370

Questions and answers:

Responses of Midge Decter, executive director, Committee for the Free World to questions asked by Senator Denton 8
Responses of Arland Thornton, associate research scientist, institute for social research, University of Michigan to questions asked by Senator Denton 28
Responses of Panel I to questions asked by Senator Denton 88
Responses of Herbert S. Sacks, M.D., clinical professor of psychiatry and pediatrics, Yale University School of Medicine, to questions asked by Senator Denton 87
Responses of Allan C. Carlson, Ph. D., executive vice president, the Rockford Institute, to questions asked by Senator Denton 56
Responses of Dr. Richard P. Lindsay, director, public communications and special affairs, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints to questions asked by Senator Denton 113
Responses of Dennis Rainey, National director, Family Ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ to questions asked by Senator Denton 144
Responses of Steven Preister, director, National Center for Family Studies, the Catholic University of America to questions asked by Senator Denton 185
Responses of Dr. Herbert Ratner, editor, Child & Family Quarterly to questions asked by Senator Denton 192
Responses of Panel II to questions asked by Senator Denton 196
Responses of Dorcas R. Hardy, Assistant Secretary for Human Development Services, Department of Health and Human Services to questions asked by Senator Denton 270
Responses of Diane Ahrens, county commissioner, Ramsey County, Minn., to questions asked by Senator Denton 282
Responses of Geneva B. Johnson, president and chief executive officer, the Family Service Association of America to questions asked by Senator Denton 294
Responses of James A. Mays, M.D., Mays Medical Clinic to questions asked by Senator Denton 328
Responses of George Gilder, author, to questions asked by Senator Denton 372
Responses of Brigitte Berger, author to questions asked by Senator Denton 375

BROKEN FAMILIES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1983

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FAMILY AND HUMAN SERVICES,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m., in room SD-628, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Jeremiah Denton (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Denton, Grassley, and Hatch.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR DENTON

Senator DENTON. Good morning. This hearing will come to order. I would like to welcome the witnesses and guests to the third in a series of hearings on the topic of family breakdown, its effects on children and adults, its causes, and the role of Government in the problem. The hearing today will focus specifically on causes of family breakdown and on its implications for our society.

At our first two hearings, we heard some sobering facts about the current state of family life in the United States. We learned that if current trends continue, nearly half of all marriages will end in divorce. We learned that the effects on children of divorce or separation, and the consequent absence of a parent, can be serious and long lasting. These effects include lower academic performance in school, depression, anger, and loneliness, a sense of rejection, and higher risks of psychosexual development problems.

The rising tide of teenage suicides can in many cases be correlated with family lives in disarray and an absence of parental accessibility, affection, and guidance.

Though the duration of these effects may vary greatly, depending on the age and character of the child at the time of divorce, the subsequent relationship between the parents, and the amount of parental time the child receives, the effects are nonetheless serious and in many cases, enduring.

We heard at our previous hearings about the effects of divorce on adults, particularly women. We learned that the economic consequences for women with children are especially severe. As a result, according to the former Director of the Census Bureau, Bruce Chapman, a full 50 percent of the families maintained by a woman receive some sort of public assistance. It is particularly noteworthy that, if in 1980, we had the same family composition nationwide as in 1970—that is, no increase in the divorce or separation rate—then we would actually be seeing a decrease in the poverty rate. In fact, the rising numbers of single-parent families are leading to an increase in families in poverty and to an increasing feminization of poverty. The implications for the women and children involved are unhappy, indeed, as are the implications for the Federal and State budgets that must support them.

What are we to make of all this? I would contend that the approach that both Government and those in the private sector have taken to date has been haphazard, at best, and has focused almost exclusively on symptoms of the problem rather than on fundamental causes. Of course, we must give aid and comfort to victims of broken families, but I fear that our whole society has become a victim, a very ill and troubled victim, for whom we need a cure more desperately than we need some sort of societal analgesic to kill the pain of family disintegration.

We cannot begin to address cures unless we can identify causes. Of course, our job here in the Senate is to identify the role of Government in the problem or, at a minimum, to use our positions for leadership in addressing it. But we cannot focus on Government's role in the solution until we identify where we have gone wrong, where the essential causes of the problem are.

We truly have an outstanding set of witnesses today who will present their views on the fundamental problems engendering the epidemic of family disintegration. I am sure that we will hear a number of interesting theories. I do not expect that we will come up with any single, easy answer, but I believe we will make a good beginning toward some general directions in which we must head.

One of our leading magazines, Better Homes and Gardens, recently completed a survey of 201,000 readers on the topic of American family life. Leading the list of what those readers identified as the greatest threat to family life, Better Homes and Gardens listed the absence of religion or spiritual foundation in our society. Ten years ago, Better Homes and Gardens identified materialism as the leading threat. Those two items are not identical, but are clearly related.

Those are some of the themes we must address today. There are several others. I will briefly highlight each and then turn to our witnesses for their perspectives.

Related to the loss of spiritual moorings, to our abandonment of the pursuit of obedience to God's law, indeed, to the rejection of the notion that such a law even exists, is the loss of belief in the sanctity and inviolability of the marriage vow as something ordained and sealed by God for all eternity: "What God has joined, let no man put asunder."

With an increasing prevalence of the view that marriage is something easily dissoluble, we see an increasing tolerance of betrayal within marriage, of "free" marriages without commitment. We see even a casual indifference toward adultery, promiscuity as something liberating, and certainly an increasing tolerance of sexual involvement before marriage.

We must examine the relationship between these attitudes toward sexual involvement and the rising divorce rate.

During the same timeframe in which we have witnessed the revolution in sexual mores, we have experienced another sort of sexual revolution—a revolution in attitudes toward roles of the sexes. Women have moved into the work force in ever-expanding numbers, with ever-increasing success, and in many cases, ever-decreasing time spent at home. While it is true that women used to do both farm work and homemaking, and that men, chauvinistically, may well have spent too little effort on helping with parenting and home chores, we do seem to have undertaken role changes which leave us mostly uncertain and sometimes troubled. Likewise, we are troubled about the appropriate time allocation required from both parents, particularly the mother, for proper child rearinq. Clearly, when pressures of work force participation are inflicted upon both spouses, strains on the marriage can increase. I hope we will hear various viewpoints of this phenomenon.

We must also discuss the role of the media in family breakdown. According to one commentator, Jeff Greenfield, it is as though Hollywood considers happy families "fantasies". He notes that prime time TV deals with every issue except those most fundamental to our being. To quote Mr. Greenfield:

> They have moved into areas once considered untouchable in prime time; yet, the most common, most crucial area of all time—the capacity of modern men and women to love, trust, share, and provide a moral framework for children, this seems to be beyond their grasp.

Clearly, more than simply reflecting change, the media has catalyzed and accelerated the abandonment of our traditional ethical moorings.

Last, we should touch on the role Government has played and is playing in this issue, though we will be tackling that issue exclusively at our next hearing on October 4. But we must discuss today the changes in governmental policy toward marriage, particularly the relaxation of State divorce laws and its effect on cultural changes.

For our first panel, we will be hearing from four outstanding individuals of varied backgrounds. I will ask Miss Midge Decter, Dr. Arland Thornton, Dr. Allan Carlson, and Dr. Herbert Sacks to come forward, please.

We will begin with Miss Decter. Ms. Decter is the author of several well-known books, including "Liberal Parents, Radical Children"; "The New Chastity"; "The Liberated Woman and Other Americans," and she is a frequent contributor to Commentary magazine and other journals. She is also serving as executive director of the Committee for a Free World.

Due to the number of witnesses we will be hearing from today, I will ask each to limit his or her oral remarks to 10 minutes. Of course, the full written statement of each will be inserted in the record.

Before Miss Decter begins, I would like to welcome my distinguished colleague from Iowa, Senator Grassley, and ask if he cares to make an opening statement or any remarks at this time.

Senator GRASSLEY. Well, I want to applaud you for your initiative that you are showing by holding these hearings, and the invaluable service that you are performing. I am encouraged by the fine panel of witnesses that you have and the other individuals who contributed to the formation of the record that we are going to have. I suppose every Senator believes in the institution of family, so we are not unique in holding these hearings as members of this subcommittee, or in our support for that institution. But I think that Congress has not paid as much attention to that as in the past, and I hope that your record that you establish here will bring the attention that is due it, particularly any negative aspects of initiatives that Congress in the past has enacted discouraging or bringing disunity to the institution of family.

I will put the rest of my statement in the record.

Senator **Denton**. Thank you very much, Senator Grassley, and the rest of your statement will be included in the record as if read. It is a pleasure to serve with men like you, and I am optimistic about the future, because our freshman class brought more than you and me here with similar feelings about the need for Congress to address what may be indeed a national crisis. It has been a pleasure to work with you and your staff in this area.

[The statement of Senator Grassley follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR GRASSLEY

Senator **Grassley**. Many legislators fail to consider the implications of the laws they pass that affect the family. We hear about environmental impact statements, budget impact statements, and inflation impact statements. I say its time we look at the impact laws have on the family.

I applaud Senator Denton for the courage and initiative he is showing and the invaluable service he is performing in holding these hearings. I am encouraged by this fine panel of witnesses, and other individuals who have contributed to the formation of these hearing records and those who are studying what can be done to guard the family against its deterioration.

It is in the family that character, integrity, stability, cooperation, fairness, and discipline are first learned and understood. It is the family structure that forms the citizen, lays the foundation for civil and political character, and shapes our destiny as a people.

That is why the increasing numbers of broken homes distresses me greatly. The upheaval, disorientation and turbulent change felt by individuals in the broken family permeates every level in society. More than 50 percent of the children in families headed by a female lives in poverty, compared with only 8 percent in husband-wife families. This is due in large part to fathers who are not paying child support, which is why I have introduced legislation tightening child support enforcement.

We need to focus more attention on the nature, the prerogatives, the duties and the blessings of the family unit, and I am pleased to see that this is now taking place under Senator Denton's leadership. It is incumbent upon all of us who shape our society, the Government, the press and civic and religious institutions to help recement this basic foundation of our civilization.

I am thankful to be a member of the Family and Human Services Subcommittee and to participate in these oversight hearings.

Senator **Denton**. Miss Decter, won't you begin?

STATEMENT OF MISS MIDGE DECTER, AUTHOR, AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, COMMITTEE FOR A FREE WORLD; DR. ARLAND THORNTON, ASSISTANT RESEARCH SCIENTIST, INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN; DR. ALLAN C. CARLSON, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, THE ROCKFORD INSTITUTE, ROCKFORD, ILL., AND DR. HERBERT S. SACKS, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY AND PEDIATRICS, YALE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION, A PANEL

Miss DECTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

American society is at the moment lacking in consensus about many issues. But the one thing about which we seem to have achieved near-universal agreement is that something is going wrong with the constitution of our private lives. Women are noisily embattled, and men smoulder in resentful silence. Drugs and alcoholism, untouched by years of effort to control them, remain at the top of the list of social menaces. Despite the wide availability of effective means of contraception, in some American cities, abortions outnumber live births. A new psychotherapy, or mood-altering chemical, gets produced, as it seems, every minutes. And, of course, there are all those divorces, all those lonely and self-seeking men and women, hopping from marriage to marriage in search of they know not what, all those children abandoned by their fathers, and even, nowadays, abandoned by their mothers.

We are forced to ask ourselves, as we do here today, a question so vast and general as: What is going on with us? How is it that people blessed by God with better health, longer lives, greater comfort, and personal freedom and economic well-being than any previous peoples in human history, should give so much evidence of deep trouble?

Neither I nor anyone else can presume to answer this question in full. I would, in the brief time at my disposal, like only to suggest an area in which we might begin to find some understanding.

For a generation now, millions upon millions of Americans—I will not say all—have been engaging in child sacrifice. Less bloodily, perhaps, but no less obediently than certain ancient groups of idol worshippers, we have been offering up our children on the altar of a pitiless god. Nor do I mean this as a flowery metaphor. In our case, the idol to whom we have sacrificed our young is not made of wood or gold, but of an idea. This idea, very crudely put, is that we are living in an altogether new world with not yet fully understood new moral rules. As inhabitants of this supposedly newly ordered world, we tell ourselves we have no right to cling to or impose on others outmoded standards of behavior. On the contrary, everyone has a right, even an obligation, to make up his own rules—and with these rules, to make up his own preferred mode of living. This idea is no merely abstract proposition with us; we have translated it, socially religiously, politically, and juridically, into the stuff of our everyday national existence. And we have, as I said, literally sacrificed our children to it.

Not so very long ago, a whole generation of this country's middle-class children rose up in late adolescence and said they could see no reason to prepare themselves to take on the burdens of adult life—to serve their country, for instance, or educate themselves, or make a living. They left school, they ran away, they drugged themselves; in milder cases, they just kind of hung around, growing pale, unkempt, unhealthy and trucculent. And untold numbers of them committed suicide. Again, I do not speak metaphorically. In 10 years, the suicide rate of those from 18 to 25 increased by 250 percent. Now did we respond to this, we elders—we parents, teachers, clergymen, journalists, civic leaders, and yes, legislators?

We applauded them. We said they were the best generation ever seen; they were great idealists, far superior to ourselves. We said they had discovered a new way to live. In short, we abandoned them. Just as surely as if we had with our own hands bared their necks to the ritual knife, we sacrificed them on the altar of our own moral irresponsibility. Those who managed to save themselves did so with no help from any of the authorities in their lives, neither parental, religious, nor intellectual. For none of these authorities would tell them what they needed to know—that life is real and weighty and consequential; that life is good, and only good when it is real and weighty and consequential; that it requires discipline and courage and the assumption of responsibility for oneself and others; and that it repays, and only repays discipline and courage and the assumption of responsibility for oneself and others.

Why did mothers and fathers, teachers and ministers, lawgivers and judges, why did all the figures on whom children depend to teach them how to live a decent and rewarding life refuse to tell them what they needed to know? Because they themselves had not the courage of any convictions. How many parents sent—still send—their adolescent children off, unaided and morally and psychically unprotected, into the treacherous ocean of sex simply because they have not the courage to say what they truly believe—that sex in childhood is a dangerous and debilitating and life-denying force?

As a society, we do not even any longer have the moral courage to cast out in horror—a horror we all feel—the child pornographer, the pedophile, the commiter of incest. We hem and haw and let the courts decide, which they usually do on the basis of certain fine points of legal procedure. Does the first amendment protect the exploiters of 7- and 8-year-old boys for pornographic films? Is that really one of the constitutional rights that have made this country a glory of freedom?

The truth is, we have lost the collective ability to make the simplest moral assertions. And if we have lost it collectively, we shall surely lose it individually, as well. For people precisely cannot make up their own lives. They are constituted to be members of communities. They cannot live themselves and cannot bring up their children, not for long, by a standard that finds no confirmation in the surrounding community. An individual's inner resolve, when it must be engaged every day in a battle against the surrounding moral atmosphere, begins to erode and crack. A community that does not love virtue takes an unimaginable toll on the virtuous. Instead of rewarding, it punishes them. Out of historic error, out of sloth, out of cowardice, out of lack of collective will, we are permitting ourselves to become a society that punishes the virtuous. That punishment is every day being incorporated into the laws of the land, written and unwritten.

It is the family—the greatest tribute to, the most brilliant invention of, the human moral capacity—that has lately taken the greatest punishment of all. For one thing, we pretend no longer to be sure what is a family. We debate publicly, as we did even at a White House conference not many years back: Is a family the same thing as a household? Is it two lesbians? Is it two homosexuals? Is it a man and a woman sharing the same roof out of wedlock? Why not? Are we not, after all, free as people living in a new order to make up our own definitions?

In attempting to erase its uniqueness as an institution, we remove from the family the community affirmation that is the absolutely essential ingredient to its strength as an institution. It was claimed, and our policymakers and our legislators concurred, that society engaged in unfair discrimination against those who chose not to live in traditional families. But such discrimination, in everything from tax policy to public speech, is precisely the means by which a society makes known its standards and values.

Why should a society that professes to believe in the family not discriminate in its favor? Even to have to speak of belief in the family, as if it were an alternative among many, is a real sign of our pathology. Indeed, by turning the family into a merely voluntary, optional relationship, we have ironically increased its capacity to make its members unhappy. Thus our divorce rate.

The family, as I have said, is a brilliant moral invention. It teaches us that life is not lived alone. To be a parent is to discover, sometimes with considerable surprise, at first, that there are lives more valuable to one than one's own. To be a child of parents is to incorporate into one's being the knowledge that human life, as opposed to animal existence, is a system of mutual obligations and dependencies.

To get beyond self is the only possibility for happiness; to understand obligation is the only possibility for genuine individual freedom. That may, as little children are wont to say, be "no fair," but it is the truth. Thus, the family—to me and to everybody, no matter how many revolutions of consciousness and being he claims to have taken place—is a mother and a father and their children. And thus, too, the family is one of society's first orders of business.

I do not pretend to have any simple answer as to how we can get ourselves out of our present moral morass. But I do know that it will be necessary for us to begin to talk to one another honestly from the heart instead out of a lot of junky and morally impertinent fashionable ideas. And I do know that it will be necessary for us as a society, without fear for the trendy opinion of mankind, forcefully and vocally to discriminate in favor of what we all, deep down, still actually believe to be good and valuable and right.

Thank you.

Senator DENTON. Thank you, Miss Decter.

[Questions along with responses follow:]

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October 18, 1983

Senator Jeremiah Denton
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Denton:

Enclosed is the first pass at an answer to your very, very difficult question. You have asked nothing less than the deepest and most troubling question of our time. I'm afraid I haven't a very satisfactory answer to it, but that would take a religious genius.

Moreover, I have only one answer to the question of what the Senate might do about family stability. It is something important but something, I am afraid, mainly negative. The Senate, as the representative body of the American people, must refrain from whoring after strange gods, or even from the willingness to discuss the possibility of whoring after them. Senators, in other words, must take the risk of being square for all the rest of us. It is called leadership, and is just as important in the realm of attitudes as in the realm of lawmaking. Who knows? We might all begin to follow. It is hard to stand up for old-fashioned virtue; it makes us feel stuffy and priggish and not at all as we know ourselves to be. But if Capitol Hill could still, as it once was, be a place shocked by adultery, pederasty, and other sins--if such things at least still cost one something in the highest tribunal of the land--it would make an enormous difference to our entire public tone.

Sincerely,

Midge D.

Midge Decter
Executive Director

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enc.

Remember when a divorce cost a politician dearly (e.g., Nelson Rockefeller)? What does it cost anyone now? Not even the slightest twinge of disapproval.

Questions for Miss Decter Submitted by Senator Denton

1. I believe there is still some ambivalence in our society today as to where married women should draw the line between their devotion to career and the time they spend with their families. Is there any correlation at all in your mind between the role changes that have occurred between the sexes in recent years and the rising divorce rate?

I do not honestly believe that the issue is one of women working, or even necessarily--though here it is more complicated--of women pursuing careers. The question is when and how and for what reason. Working women are not new: think of the old country, peasants, first-generation immigrants to this country, the "old west." The issue is one of priorities. Working from necessity is not for a woman the same thing as working because one is restless, resentful, and ungrateful for comfort and privilege. For any working woman--and here I speak from experience--the real question is, what comes first, in one's care, attention, and commitment. This, of course, only creates a problem in the serious pursuit of a career. To have a real career and a family requires of a woman that she have twice the energy, emotional as well as physical. Most middle-class women in offices--ask anyone who has worked with them--do not really wish to pursue careers; they only wish to get out of the house, and have a "good time." The women's movement has told them they are entitled, and has bitterly misled them. That is why I think the present so-called "role changes" are only temporary. Because of course roles, if that term is meant seriously, haven't changed at all. What is not temporary, however, and is a serious threat to marriage and a cause for the increase in divorce, is the current discontent of women whichever way they play it. A society cannot be in a good state if its women are not. What has put women into a bad state is the technology that has also saved their lives: birth control, and the radical reduction in the burdens of homemaking. We cannot go back. What is more, it would be sinful, literally, to be nostalgic: the new technology has given life; and vigor and health and comfort. But we women are leading truly revolutionary lives, planning our families and having little required of us in the way of housework. We have not yet quite learned to live with this, and above all, no longer know what value can be put onwhat we do. This is the real, true crisis of roles. If we did not have it, Women's Lib would never have gotten anywhere, for what the movement tells women about themselves goes against both their nature and their natural desires. A return to big families would help. The anti-natalism of recent years has been devastating to the spiritual welfare of women. And with pro-natalism would come an increase in the self-love, in the best sense, of women. But such a thing cannot be legislated, it can only come from within the culture. Marriage is an institution created to serve the needs of women and children. The divorce rate is the result of women's refusal to acknowledge that they need and want marriage more than men--by nature--and that they thus have a special responsibility to it. They are once again by all indications beginning to find this out, no thanks to the culture but thanks to the misery they have brought upon themselves, along with everyone else.

Our next witness, Dr. Arland Thornton, is an associate research scientist with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

Please proceed, Dr. Thornton.

Dr. THORNTON. During recent years, as we have just heard, the American public has been overwhelmed with new information about the changing family: Half of all marriages will end in divorce; one-fifth of all children are now born out-of-wedlock; one-fifth of all households with children are headed by a woman; American women are now bearing less than two children; the marriage rate is declining; and the number of couples living together without marriage is growing.

Some people believe that these developments reflect the disintegration of the family and wonder if the family institution will remain viable. My own opinion, however, is that predictions about the demise of the family are premature and exaggerated.

Having a happy marriage and a good family life are singled out by Americans as the two most important domains of their lives. Most Americans are embedded in a significant network of kin, where they receive substantial support. About four-fifths of all married Americans report their marriages as being very happy or above average, an actual increase in marital happiness since the 1950's. Ninety percent of young people say they plan to marry and have children, and most are optimistic about the success of their marriages. This leads me to the conclusion that, although there have been tremendous changes, families continue to play a vital role in today's world.

As we search for understanding of this complex mosaic of change and continuity, it is important to recognize that many of the trends have been with us for well over a century. During this same period, the entire face of American society was transformed by the processes that we now refer to as modernization, industrialization, and economic development.

In this presentation, I will briefly describe some of the central features of American society of the past, outline some of the crucial changes in society, and explain some of the effects of those changes on family life.

In the beginning of our country, the family was the basic organizational unit of society, with most activities conducted there. There were few economic enterprises outside the home; intead, the traditional family household organized its own resources to provide its needs. In this society, each individual family member had a role in production.

There was an important division of labor in the families of early America. The husband generally directed the economic activity of the family, which was often an agricultural enterprise. While the wife maintained a primary role in the caring of the home and children, she usually played an important part in the economic enterprise, by taking care of gardens and farm animals and helping with other important activities. Children were also actively involved in the productive activities of the family. However, while everyone in the family was involved in economic production, the earnings of the family were controlled by the head of the household. Educational institutions were not an important part of early American society. School attendance was not widespread and was clearly subservient to the needs of the family's economic endeavors.

Disease and death were omnipresent in early American families. Many children died in infancy, and many mothers died in childbirth. Thus, it was necessary for families to bear large numbers of children.

While I have been describing society in early America, many of these aspects of life were relevant for many of us well into the 20th century. To illustrate this, I would like to refer briefly to my own family experiences, since I have personally experienced many of things I have just mentioned.

I grew up on a farm in southwestern Idaho, where both sets of my grandparents had migrated from Utah just after the turn of the century. My maternal grandparents were homesteaders who opened new land on the Idaho desert. My father supervised the operation of our family farm to support his growing family—a family that finally included eight children. My mother specialized in taking care of the house and children. While she was never employed outside the home, her economic services to our family were many. For myself, I had no employer outside my family before I left home and went away to college. Nevertheless, I worked hard doing numerous farm tasks. As a result of not having an employer of my own, I had no independent source of money, and every penny that I spent came from my parents.

As everyone knows, modernization and economic development have thoroughly transformed American society during the last century and a half. Since the family was the central institution of traditional American society, these tremendous changes could not have occurred without impacting family life. A central feature of these changes was the introduction and expansion of important nonfamily institutions including schools, factories, and corporations. Slowly but now almost completely, economic production has been transferred outside the family. Today, rather than almost everyone being active in family economic production, almost all workers are employed outside the family. Now, instead of children spending almost no time in school, school is the primary activity of most children until they reach age 18, and many continue education well into their twenties.

There have also been tremendous improvements in health, and we now have reached a standard of living that we could not even have imagined a century ago.

The shift of the primary locus of employment from the family to the marketplace substantially reduced the opportunity for women to combine economic production with care of children and the home, thereby reducing their economic contributions to the family. However, the recent influx of mothers into the labor force has reversed this pattern. Mothers are again combining economic production with the care of the home and children. But now, there is the crucial difference that the economic production occurs outside rather than inside the family unit. Instead of the family working together as a unit to meet its financial needs, individual family members now sell their labor in the marketplace in exchange for money which is pooled together in the family. The family deals with the outside world not as a single entity, but as a set of individuals. It also means that individual family members—fathers, mothers and children—have direct control over the fruits of their labor. This provides a source of independence for individual family members that was unknown in the past.

The increase in educational attendance has strongly modified the role of children in the family. Instead of children contributing to the family enterprise at an early age, they now require family resources over an extended period. In addition, when they do work for money now, they seldom contribute those resources to the family's uses, but maintain them for their own consumption. Education also provides children with skills that increase their ability to deal with parents.

A number of other important changes in family life have accompanied these long-term transformations of American society. The fertility of American women has declined almost continuously from 1800 to the present, with average number of children declining from about seven to about two Household size has declined tremendously since the first census in 1790. As part of this trend, there has been an increase in independent living, an especially important phenomenon for the elderly and for young adult children. The trend toward independence among young people is probably reflected in the increase in the rate of out-of-wedlock births, an increase which has been fairly steady since 1940. The divorce rate has increased almost continuously since 1860.

Of course, within these basic, long-term family trends, there have been important, but relatively short, fluctuations. An example of these fluctuations is the substantial increase in marriage, divorce and childbearing which followed World War II. The rise in divorce lasted only a few years, while the baby boom lasted for more than a decade, and the marriage boom extended across two decades. Unfortunately, while several explanations of these fluctuations have been offered, there is as yet no clear consensus about the causes.

The power of the forces changing American family life can be further appreciated by understanding that family changes have not been unique to the United States. Virtually every country of Europe and those originating from European societies have experienced the same general trends The specifics and details, of course, vary across countries, but the same basic trends observed in the United States also apply to these other countries.

Also, as I have studied non-European countries, I have been impressed by the many similarities that can be observed as these countries experience the forces of modernization and development.

I have also been impressed by the extent to which the overall trends observed for our country as a whole also apply to specific subgroups within our society. While there are important variations within American society by ethnic origin, religious affiliation and region, it appears that the basic patterns have applied to virtually all of the subgroups that have been studied.

Of course, given the central importance of the family, the magnitude of family change has had a tremendous impact on human relationships and the quality of our lives. Particularly worrisome to us is childbearing among young unmarried women, the incidence of sexually transmitted disease, the difficulties often associated with divorce, and the problems many single parents have. Yet at the same time, there have been a number of positive developments. The rise in independent living, the ability to end difficult marital relationships, and the employment of women have brought valuable opportunities to many Americans. I believe that it is altogether too easy to idealize the past and ignore the positive thrust of many of the changes which have occurred.

While I am generally impressed with the resilience of the family, I am not advocating that we ignore the problems. I believe that there are probably many things that we can and should do to improve the quality of our family experiences. However, as we search for improvements, I would hope that we look for solutions that are consistent with the many fundamental changes which have occurred in our society over the last century, because any effort to effect a wholesale reversal of those changes is likely to be unsuccessful.

Finally, in the light of the extreme divisiveness that family policy debates have engendered in the past, I would hope that the solutions that we derive will have substantial consensus.

Thank you.

Senator **Denton**. Thank you, Dr. Thornton.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Thornton along with questions and responses follow:]

PRELIMINARY

Transformations of American Society and Family Life

by

Arland Thornton

This statement was prepared for presentation to the Senate Subcommittee on Family and Human Services, September 22, 1983. Arland Thornton is Associate Research Scientist, Institute for Social Research and Adjunct Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan.

Transformations of American Society and Family Life

Introduction

During recent years the American public has been overwhelmed with new information about the changing family: about half of all marriages will end in divorce; nearly one-fifth of all children are now born out-of-wedlock; one fifth of all households with children are headed by a woman; on average, American women are now bearing less than two children; the marriage rate is declining; and the number of couples living together without marriage is growing rapidly.[1] A number of people believe that these developments reflect a disintegration of the family and wonder if the family institution will remain a viable one.

My own opinion, however, is that predictions about the demise of the family are premature and exaggerated. The current evidence indicates that most Americans are embedded in a significant network of kin, where they receive substantial physical and emotional support. Most Americans will marry, have children, and experience considerable fulfillment in their families. Most Americans still regard the family and their familial relationships as central to their well-being and happiness. In fact, the reported happiness of marriages today exceeds that of the 1950s.

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[1] I have coauthored an article, "Changing American Families," which summarizes many of these trends (Thornton and Freedman, 1983). It is scheduled for publication in October.

This leads me to the conclusion that although there have been tremendous changes in family life, families continue to play a vital role in today's world and are likely to remain important in the future.[2]

As we search for understanding of this complex mosaic of change and continuity in American family life, it is very important to recognize that many of the trends have been with us for well over a century. During this same period the entire face of American society was being transformed by the processes we now refer to as modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and economic development, and these forces had great influence on family life. In this presentation I will describe some of the central features of American society of the past, outline some of the crucial changes in society, and explain some of the effects of those changes on family life.

Society and Family Life in the Past

In the beginning of our country, the family was the basic organizational unit of society, with most activities, including production and consumption, being conducted there. There were few economic enterprises outside the home, such as corporations, factories, or government bureaucracies to employ individual Americans. Instead, the traditional family household organized, directed, and managed its own resources to provide its needs. In this society each individual family member--husband, wife, and children--had a role in production.[3]

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[2] Additional discussion of these issues can be found by referring to Bane (1976), Cherlin and Furstenberg (1983), Thornton and Freedman (1983), and Veroff, Douvan, and Kulka (1981).

There was an important division of labor in the families of early America. The husband generally directed the economic activity of the family which was often, but not always an agricultural enterprise.[4] While the wife maintained a primary role in the caring of the home and children, she usually played an important part in the economic enterprise by taking care of gardens and farm animals, and when necessary, helping with other important activities. Children, from a very early age, were also actively involved in the productive activities of the family. However, while everyone in the family, including women and children, were actively involved in economic production, the earnings of the family were controlled by the head of the household.[5]

Educational institutions were not an important part of early American society. School attendance was not widespread and was clearly subservient to the needs of the family's economic endeavors. Consequently, the educational attainments of American children were limited--certainly by the standards of today.[6]

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[3] Two books describing the world of the past are Demos (1970) and Greven (1970). Also of interest are three books written primarily about historical European societies (Laslett, 1965; Shorter, 1975; Tilly and Scott, 1978).

[4] As recently as 1900, approximately forty percent of the American population resided on farms (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975).

[5] Discussions of family organization are provided by Demos (1970) and Greven (1970). Also see Kett (1977). Good examples of the persistence of these patterns into the late 19th and early 20th centuries are provided by Early (1982) and U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau (1923).

Disease and death were omnipresent in early American families. Many children died in infancy, many mothers died in childbirth, many families with small children were disrupted by the death of one of the parents, and many persons did not live to see their grandchildren. In this situation, it was necessary for families to bear large numbers of children.

While I have been describing society in early America, many of these aspects of life were relevant for many well into the twentieth century. To illustrate this, I would like to refer briefly to my own family experiences. Although my teenage children often think of me as an old-timer, I am not yet forty years old. Yet, I have personally experienced many of the crucial dimensions I just mentioned. I grew up on a farm in southwestern Idaho. Both my father's and mother's parents had migrated to Idaho from Utah just after the turn of the century. My maternal grandparents were homesteaders who opened new land on the Idaho desert. My father supervised the operation of our family farm to support his growing family--a family that finally included eight children. My mother, like most mothers of yesteryear, specialized in taking care of the house and children. While she was, to my knowledge, never employed outside the home for pay, her economic services to the family were many, including the provision of food and clothing to the farm labor force, and when necessary, helping out in the fields and barnyard. Her direct input into the family farm was particularly marked during the great depression when she worked in the fields and was responsible for a flock of turkeys. For myself, I had no employer outside my family before I left home and went away to college; nevertheless, I worked hard weeding onions, hoeing beets, hauling hay, feeding calves, and milking cows. As a result of not having an employer of my own, I had no independent source of money to spend for anything; every penny I spent as a young person came from parents.[7]

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[6] As recently as 1940 only 36 percent of men and 40 percent of women aged 25-29 had completed four years of high school (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980).

Societal and Family Change

As everyone knows, modernization, industrialization, economic development, and urbanization have thoroughly transformed American society during the last century and a half. Since the family was the central institution of traditional American society, these tremendous changes could not have occurred without impacting tremendously on American family life. A central feature of these changes was the introduction and expansion of important nonfamily institutions including schools, factories, corporations, and governmental bureaucracies. Slowly but surely, and now almost completely, economic production has been transferred outside the family. Today, rather than almost everyone being active in family economic production, almost all workers are employed outside the family. Now, instead of children spending almost no time in school, school is the primary activity of most until they reach age 18 or so and many continue education well into their twenties. Accompanying these changes have been tremendous improvements in health and longevity, and we have now reached a standard of living that could not have been imagined a century ago.

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[7] I migrated from the agricultural roots that I just described and married a city woman. Our family, which includes four children, now lives in a city, and I work for a large state university. The world my children are experiencing is entirely different from that of my parents' youth. When I tell my children about my own childhood, they can only begin to understand it, and my parents' childhoods are even more difficult for my children to appreciate.

The shift of the primary locus of employment from the family to the market place substantially reduced the opportunity for women to combine economic production with care of children and the home, thereby, reducing the economic contributions of women to the family. Consequently, as recently as 1940 only 14 percent of married women were in the labor force. However, the recent influx of mothers into the labor force has reversed this pattern. Mothers are again combining economic production with the care of the home and children.[8] But now there is the crucial difference that the economic production occurs outside rather than inside the family unit.

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[8] For further information concerning these trends see

Now, instead of the family working together as a unit to meet its financial needs, individual family members sell their labor in the market place in exchange for money which is pooled together in the family. This means that the family deals with the outside world not as a single economic entity but as a set of individuals. It also means that individual family members--fathers, mothers, and children--have direct control over the fruits of their labor.[9] This provides a source of independence and automony that was unknown in the past.

The tremendous increase in educational attendance has strongly modified the role of children in the family. Instead of children contributing to the family economic enterprise at an early age, they now require expenditures of family resources over an extended period. In addition, when they do work for money now, they seldom contribute those resources to the family's uses but maintain them for their own private consumption. In addition, education not only provides children with new skills and knowledge that are useful in the labor market but with skills that increase their ability to deal with parents at home.

A number of other important changes in family life have accompanied these long-term transformations of American

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Oppenheimer (1970) and Bureau of Labor Statistics (1982).

[9] See Bachman (1983) for a discussion of children's economic affluence and independence today.

society.[10] The fertility of American women has declined almost continuously from 1800 to the present, with average number of children born declining from about seven to about two. Contraception became widespread in the nineteenth century and today, as a result of new and very effective means of contraception, husbands and wives can effectively control their childbearing. Household size has declined tremendously since the first census in 1790. As part of this trend there has been an increase in independent living, an especially important phenomenon for the elderly and for young adult children. The divorce rate has increased almost continuously since 1860. Today, about one-half of all marriages will end in divorce if current rates continue as compared to about five percent of the marriages of the 1860s. The trend toward independence among young people is an especially important theme in writings about family change.[11] This independence is undoubtedly reflected in the increase in the rate of out-of-wedlock births--an increase which has been fairly steady since 1940.

Of course, within these basic long-term family trends, there have been important, but relatively short, fluctuations. An example of such short-term fluctuations is the decline in both marriage and divorce rates which accompanied the great depression. Another example of fluctuations is the substantial increases in marriage, divorce, and childbearing following World War II. In this case the rise in divorce lasted only a few years, while the baby boom lasted for more than a decade and the marriage boom extended across two decades. Unfortunately, while there have been several explanations of these trends advanced, there is, as yet, no clear concensus about the causes.[12] These fluctuations, however, do reenforce the need for caution when interpreting family trends; current trends can just as easily represent a return to past patterns as a departure from them, and current trends need not continue indefinitely into the future.

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[10] For more details see Thornton and Freedman (1983).

[11] See Thornton and Freedman (1982).

The power of the forces changing American family life can be further appreciated by understanding that family changes have not been unique to the United States. Virtually every country of Europe and those originating from European societies have experienced the same general trends. The specifics and details, of course, vary across countries, but the same basic patterns observed in the United States also apply to these other countries.[13] Also, as I have studied non-European countries, I have been impressed by the many similarities that can be observed as these countries experience the forces of modernization and development.

I have also been impressed by the extent to which the overall trends observed for our country as a whole also apply to specific subgroups within the society. While there are important variations within American society by ethnic origin, religious affiliation, and region, it appears that the basic patterns have applied to virtually all of the subgroups that have been studied.

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[12] A particularly good discussion of these issues is provided by Cherlin (1981).

[13] Good discussions of European patterns are provided by Roussel and Festy (1979) and Chester (1977).

Implications

Of course, given the central importance of the family, the magnitude of family change has had a tremendous impact on human relationships and the quality of our lives. Particularly worrisome is childbearing among young unmarried women, the incidence of sexually transmitted disease, the difficulties often associated with divorce, and the problems many single parents have. Yet at the same time there have been a number of positive developments. The rise in independent living, the ability to end difficult marital relationships, and the employment of women has brought valuable opportunities to many Americans. So, while we should be concerned with the suffering and harm caused by some developments, it is altogether too easy to idealize the past and ignore the positive thrust of many of the changes which have occurred.

While I am generally impressed with and optimistic about the resiliency and vitality of the family institution, I am not advocating that we ignore the many problems. I believe that there are probably many things that we can do collectively and individually to improve the quality of our family experiences. However, as we proceed to search for improvements, I would hope that we look for solutions that are consistent with the many fundamental changes which have occurred in our society over the last century and a half because any effort to effect a wholesale reversal of those changes is likely to be unsuccessful. Finally, in the light of the extreme divisiveness that family policy debates have engendered in the past, I would hope that the solutions that we derive and implement have substantial concensus in our society.

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SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER / INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH / THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN / ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

OCT 27 PM 3 03

October 21, 1983

Senator Jeremiah Denton
United States Senate
Committee on Labor and
Human Resource
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Denton

Thank you for your letter of October 5 concerning the hearing of the Subcommittee on Family and Human Services. I enjoyed the opportunity of testifying before the subcommittee concerning changing patterns of family life in the United States.

I have considered the questions that you forwarded in your letter. My responses to those questions are provided on the attached statement.

I am also enclosing a copy of a publication entitled "The Changing American Family", which I coauthored with Deborah Freedman. The monograph was just released as the October 1983 issue of Population Bulletin. I am sending you this publication because it reviews a broad range of changes in American family life, which I believe you will find interesting.

If I can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Arland Thornton

Arland Thornton
Associate Research Scientist

AT:cas

Questions for Dr. Thornton Submitted by Senator Denton

Question 1. Dr. Thornton, in your research at the University of Michigan, I understand that you have focused to a degree on the attitudes and plans of adolescents about marriage and how these orientations are related to dating patterns of adolescents. Are you able to make any generalizations about the type of dating patterns in adolescence which are more likely to provide the basis for a strong marriage?

Answer. My research has included a focus on the dating patterns of adolescents and the attitudes and plans of young people concerning marriage. However, my research concerning these issues has examined the behavior, attitudes, and plans of young people who have never been married. Therefore, I have not been able to examine how dating patterns relate to subsequent marital experience.

It is important to note that one of the most important determinants of marital dissolution in the United States is age at marriage: those who marry young have substantially greater risk of having their marriage terminated by divorce than others. This conclusion is supported by a substantial body of research, including some of my own studies. This is probably related to the greater difficulty adolescents have in making wise marital choices, the shorter amount of time they spend in the courtship process, and the stresses associated with getting married while still finishing school and launching careers.

Question 2. Dr. Thornton, is it your belief that a child's experience with his parent's marital dissolution may lead to negative attitudes towards marriage?

Answer. My research has explicitly addressed this question by comparing the attitudes of children whose parents had divorced with the attitudes of children who had not experienced a marital dissolution. The data indicate that the relationships between experience with divorce and marital attitudes are weak. As a group the children from divorced families had only slightly less positive attitudes toward marriage than the children whose parents had never divorced. A few children in this study reported that they were hesitant about getting married because they had seen the marital difficulties experienced by their own parents.

Question 3. In your work you have noted that the high divorce rate and its attendant publicity may nourish misgivings among young people generally about marriage. Can you discuss this phenomenon from the standpoint of a research scientist?

Answer. In thinking about the impact of the high divorce rate on marriage itself it is important to consider marital trends in the United States across the twentieth century. During the first four decades of this century marriage rates were relatively stable. Marriage rates increased dramatically following World War II and remained high well into the 1960s. Then during the 1970s marriage rates declined substantially, but appear to have levelled off during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Marriage rates now are very similar to those observed during the first few decades of this century. Marriage also continues to be valued by the majority of Americans. More than ninety percent of young Americans expect to marry and there has been almost no decline in that proportion since 1960. Most young people also expect their marriages to be lasting. At the same time, however, the legitimacy of singleness has become increasingly recognized; most Americans no longer regard getting married as necessarily better than remaining single and do not disapprove of those who do not marry. Thus, while there has been an increased acceptance of remaining single, I think it would be incorrect to conclude that the rising divorce rate in this country has led to a widespread rejection of marriage.

Question 4. Some of your earlier work indicates that although the imperative to marry has weakened, and the perceived advantages of marriage have declined, marriage continues to be valued by the majority of young Americans. In your research have you detected an awareness of the spiritual aspects of marriage? In other words, are young people less or more aware today of the teachings of their particular religious faith concerning marriage and family life?

Answer. I am not aware of scientific studies that have investigated trends in the awareness of young people concerning the teachings of their particular religious faith concerning marriage and family life.

Question 5. I believe there is still some ambivalence in our society today as to where married women should draw the line between their devotion to career and the time they spend with their families. Is there any correlation at all in your mind between the role changes that have occurred between the sexes in recent years and the rising divorce rate?

Answer. The effect of a wife's employment is probably related to her reasons for working, the kind of job she has, her husband's attitude toward her employment, the demands of her work, and the magnitude and nature of her other family responsibilities. It is likely that for many the advantages of a second income and additional opportunities for fulfillment outweigh the increased responsibilities associated with employment, while for others the balance is negative. Although employment outside the home does not necessarily enhance or detract from marital and family satisfaction, a job does provide additional resources which can facilitate divorce in an unhappy marriage.

Questions for Panel I

Question 1. Miss Decter makes some very strong statements in her testimony about the failure of parents to give their children an adequate moral framework within which to operate--child sacrifice, she calls it. Could the rest of you comment on her thesis--and its role in our current problems?

Answer. As I understand the thesis as it is stated in Question 1, there is an implicit assumption that there has been a significant decline in the quality of parenting in the United States. This, of course, is a difficult issue to research scientifically, but I am not aware of any convincing evidence that parents care less about their children today than they did in the past, that parents are less concerned today about the way their children grow up, that parents spend less time teaching their children ethical and moral standards, that parents are less concerned about the quality of their children, or that parents invest less heavily in their children today than in the past. Therefore, I believe that additional evidence is necessary before we accept this thesis.

Question 2. "There's Dad and his wife, Mom and her second husband, Junior's two halfbrothers from his father's first marriage, his six stepsisters from his mother's spouse's previous unions, 100-year-old Great Grandpa, all eight of Junior's current grandparents, assorted aunts, uncles-in-law and stepcousins." This was the recent U.S. News and World Report forecast for the year 2033. Is this the family of the future that you foresee? If so, do you believe that the children of tomorrow can deal with the multiple relationships involved?

Answer. In thinking about the future it is important to consider current patterns and trends. The high divorce and remarriage rates of recent years have produced many families that are similar in certain respects to the family described in the question. Today it is estimated that approximately forty percent of all children born after marriage in the United States will experience the disruption of their parents' marriage before they reach age 16. Given current remarriage rates, it is likely that many of the parents of these children will remarry before the children reach adulthood. Thus, a substantial minority of American children will experience complex family situations that have certain similarities to the family described in the question, but, this type of family will not be experienced by the majority of children while they are growing up if current patterns continue. The divorce rate also appears to have leveled off during the late 1970s and early 1980s, and this apparent stabilization of the trend in divorce suggests caution in projecting increased amounts of childhood experience with divorce and remarriage of parents in the future.

The multiple relationships resulting from chains of divorce and remarriage can be the source of additional positive support and interaction for family members, but they can also create additional family responsibilities and bring new conflicts and tension. The relative newness and complexity of these family arrangements are reflected in the lack of language, normative expectations, and legal mechanisms to handle them. This complexity is especially important for children who form the predominant links between former spouses and their current families. Unfortunately, we are only beginning to collect the information that will allow us to determine the way young people and their families adapt to these new patterns of family life and the way these new patterns impact on the lives of individual family members. Therefore, we do not yet have adequate answers concerning how well children will adapt to these complex family forms.

Question 3. As you know, the title of our hearing today is "Broken Families: Causes and Societal Implications." Some would say that the developing malaise within the institution of the family threatens the very survival of our civilization. How would you respond to that statement?

Answer. Changes in American society and family life over the last couple of centuries have been large and pervasive. Given the importance of the family in American life, the magnitude of the changes have led many people to be concerned about the survival of the family and the implications of family change for the survival of our civilization. It should be noted, however that this is not a new worry. As early as the 1850s writers were concerned about the family disappearing and the existence of society being endangered, and this worry has been expressed many times during subsequent years. In this regard, it should be noted that while family change has brought significant problems which should be addressed, there have also been a number of positive developments associated with many of those changes. It is altogether too easy to idealize the past and ignore the positive thrust of many of the changes which have occurred.

My own opinion is that the resilience of the family amidst the many changes of the last two hundred years demonstrates the strength of the family institution and its ability to adapt in a changing world. Families and family relationships continue to play a vital role in today's world and are likely to continue to do so in the future. Consequently, I think there is substantial reason to be optimistic about the future of family life in this country.

Question 4. How successful do you believe institutional child care services can be, either in whole or in part, as a replacement for parental time and care in child rearing?

Answer. The effect of maternal employment on children probably depends on the adequacy and consistency of the child care provided and the amount and quality of time the parents spend with their children when they are not working. As a result, it is difficult to assess the net effect of women's work patterns on the well-being of children. Nevertheless, most studies indicate that any differences between children of working and nonworking mothers are quite small.

Question 5. I have enclosed a copy of an article from Public Opinion (January, 1983), entitled "Hollywood and America: The Odd Couple," by Linda Lichter, S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman. The article describes a survey of 104 of Hollywood's "media elite", a survey of backgrounds, political views, and religious and moral beliefs. You will note that those interviewed describe themselves as being considerably more left of center than the average American. I would be interested in your comments on any findings of the survey as they relate to the role of the media in influencing public attitudes toward the family.

Answer. I found the article interesting. However, I am not familiar with the kind of research that would provide a careful evaluation of the impact of Hollywood on the attitudes and values of individual Americans concerning family life.

Senator **Denton**. Our next witness is Dr. Allan Carlson. He is the executive vice president of the Rockford Institute and has written extensively on family topics.

Welcome, Dr. Carlson, and would you please begin your statement.

Dr. **Carlson**. Thank you, Senator Denton.

The members of this subcommittee are to be commended for holding this hearing on subjects that I believe cut to the heart of America's current discontents. One could be forgiven for claiming confusion over the whole family question. On the one hand, there are still frequent expressions of optimism concerning the future of the family in America.

But on the other hand, there remain those awful, haunting statistics, suggesting rampant, accelerating social decomposition within the United States. For many objective standards, the scope, rate, and public policy implications of these changes must be judged as unprecedented and staggering.

In the face of these developments, two questions naturally arise: First, what caused this dramatic breakdown in American family life; and second, why do analysts of the situation give such divergent interpretations to the same raw data?

These questions have the same answer. Both situations, I believe, result from what can be called the collapse of the nuclear family norm.

Forgive here my brief descent into sociological jargon, but it seems necessary. Simply defined, norms are those hundreds of unwritten, yet deeply ingrained, rules and beliefs which guide our daily actions at home, in the workplace, at worship, or at play. Cultural and social norms provide a given society with its ordering principles, its measures of right and wrong. They define for individuals the nature of responsibility and the proper basis for human relationships.

For most of our Nation's history, the nuclear family— that is, the married couple with their children—served as the normative or idealized image of the American family. While certainly never universal, and often not even a majority phenomenon, that nuclear family model stood into the early 1960's as an ideal to be striven toward, as the popular measure of normality and deviance, and as the mark of responsibility. It enjoyed the support of most other American social institutions, including qovernment, the law, organized religion, the media, and the educated elite.

What, then, caused the collapse of this apparently successful model of how one should live the good life? To beqin with, it experienced an unprecedented ideological assault. Starting in the 1960's, opponents came from many directions. First, the Marxist left. In an 1884 treatise, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's collaborator, had stressed the ties between the middle-class family model and modern market capitalism. The defeat of one, he reasoned, would bring the defeat of the other. "With the transfer of the means of production into common ownership," Engels wrote:

> The single family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children becomes a public affair; society looks after all children alike, whether they are legiti-

> mate or not. Will not that suffice to bring about the gradual growth of unrestrained sexual intercourse?

When "New Left" activists emerged in America during the early 1960's, they adopted these old Marxist perspectives on collective child rearing and nonrepressive sexuality in the pursuit of their agenda, correctly perceiving that free market capitalism and the modern family were closely related enemies.

Second, the sexual liberationists. The evidence, I believe, is overwhelming that there were major discontinuities in the sex lives of most Americans after 1960; in sum, a true sexual revolution.

While medical, physiological, and technological changes all played a role in bringing on this development, there were ideologies behind the transformation. For example, in the April 1983 issue of Mother Jones magazine, Barbara Ehrenreich focuses on the role of Playboy magazine and the Playboy philosophy in planting the seeds of family disruption during the mid-1950's. As editor Hugh Hefner wrote in his first issue, "We want to make clear from the very start, we are not a 'family magazine'." According to Ms. Ehrenreich, Playboy's message for men was not eroticism, but escape—literal escape—from the bondage of breadwinning, involving a withering critique of marriage, focused on golddigging wives, the dismissal of children as irrelevant, and a utopian vision focused on the hedonistic pleasures.

In 1973, the Playboy Press published its own history of the modern sexual revolution. Entitled "The Rape of the A*P*E (American Puritan Ethic)," the book described in surprisingly candid terms the successful obscening of America. Wrote author Allan Sherman:

> Carefully and often secretly, my generation manned the battlefronts of the sexual revolution. We produced and sold the rock'n'roll records with risque lyrics; we invented the term "wonder drug" and LSD as the true panacea, pushing it at the kids in the hallowed atmosphere at Harvard. My generation wrote and read bestsellers with nothing more to recommend them than a half dozen paragraphs of old-fashioned smut. We invented, or at least perfected, wife swapping. We performed illegal abortions. We crowded into the dark to watch those stupid stag films.

In the end, Sherman suggested, "The sexual revolution removed America's backbone and revealed our awful secret: Stripped of the puritan ethic, we have no morals at all." He added that, "Nothing was reduced to less recognizeable rubble than the revered institution of marriage."

Third, the populationists. Neo-Malthusian fears of supposed American overpopulation began growing in the mid-1960's. While normally calling for smaller families, the neo-Malthusians sometimes turned to attacks on parenthood and family in general, finding the myth of "Mom and apple pie" and attitudes exalting the role of parenthood to be dangerous.

Fourth, radical feminism. By the early 1970's, the cutting edge of the women's movement found the nuclear family, particularly the burdens of children, to be a chief stumbling block to its ideological goals. Summarizing the movement's perspective, sociologist Jessie Bernard cited the insights of Karl Marx and concluded that "The diagnosis of the family as the major roadblock to the full emancipation of women is very old. Merely helping women bear the load of child care and child rearing is viewed as inadequate."

As the newspaper Women and Revolution declared in 1971, "The institution of the family is inherently reactionary. Women are especially oppressed by the family."

Such opponents—and the list could be much expanded—were formidable enough. Yet the nuclear family model even found once supportive institutions deserting to the other side. First, the social sciences. Here, the once affirmative interpretations of Harvard University's Talcott Parsons and his intellectual followers gave way during the 1960's to a new relativism. Articles appearing after 1965 critically dissected the nuclear family bias supposedly found within the sociological profession. According to one author, marriage counselors, psychiatrists, and social workers who accepted this family model as healthy or normal were little more than zookeepers, sustaining a dangerous pathology.

Second, the churches. Already exhibiting a general relativization of moral values, a growing nonjudgmentalism concerning personal behavior, and a new tendency to borrow their agendas or causes from the secular world, many churches—once supportive centers of the nuclear family—absorbed heavy doses of the new relativism regarding family life and shifted their ground.

Third, the media. The electronic media, need it be said, wandered from the nuclear family norm that it had so visibly supported during the 1950's. Programing staples such as "The Donna Reed Show" or "Father Knows Best" gave way to a new breed of family shows such as "Three's Company" and "Love Sidney."

Finally, it is important to note two internal weaknesses characterizing the American family system during the 1950's, weaknesses which left the system itself vulnerable to attack. First, black Americans and other minority groups were not wholly integrated into the scheme. There is nothing intrinsically racist about the middle-class family model. The "black bourgeoisie" has been a vigorous element in American society for most of this century and has exhibited strong attachment to traditional family values. Nonetheless, in popular terms, minority groups were generally treated as invisible elements of the 1950's America. And second, the idealized image of the suburban American wife, created and sustained during the 1950's by the commercialized media, was clearly inadequate. It proved susceptible to erosive and partly sound critiques such as Betty Friedan's 1963 book, "The Feminine Mystique."

Taken together, the attacks on the nuclear family model, the defections of once-supportive institutions to the critical side, and the specific weaknesses which the model displayed during the 1950's proved ruinous. I think it is fair to conclude that the nuclear family today does not enjoy normative status. The moral authority once attached to the nuclear family model—indeed, to the whole of middle class culture—has been largely stripped away.

While some praise this new pluralism and the emerging era of unimpeded choice, I am unimpressed. I believe that the breakdown of the nuclear family model as a commonly accepted guide to behavior must be viewed as no less than a social disaster. The relativization of family life continues to gnaw away at the very foundations of human community, threatening our future as a Nation. Family ties of any kind, but especially the bond of parents to their children, demand emotional, financial, and temporal sacrifice. In the past, our society compensated for this in part by the prestige granted to those who bore and raised children. But with little social honor not attached to marriage or offspring, a shrinking pool of Americans are finding the uncertainties and burdens of family life, especially those open-ended commitments to spouse and children, worth the price.

Moreover, minority groups are proving to be the principal victims of the new relativism in family values. Back in 1965, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., affirmed that the nuclear family, "the group consisting of mother, father, and child," was "the main educational agency of mankind" and the "foundation for stability, understanding, and social peace" on which the whole of society rested. Even then, he labeled the prevailing levels of divorce, illegitimacy, and female-headed families found in the black ghettos to be "a social catastrophe." Eighteen years later, the frequency of these social pathologies in the black community has increased by a factor of three.

What do we label a social catastrophe multiplied by three? Whatever it might be called, millions of our fellow citizens are now trapped in just that situation.

Some also suggest that we Americans are moving toward a new ethic of commitment, some startlingly fresh vision of community that will somehow manage to save us from our follies. Again, I disagree. Moral visions and communities are not conjured out of thin air. They must be deeply rooted in history, in faith, in personal sacrifice, and in the exercise of social responsibility. For this reason, I agree with the conclusion of Brigitte and Peter L. Berger in their new book, "The War Over the Family." "There is," they write, "no alternative to the bourgeois family in the contemporary world."

The necessary tasks in restoring this family model as a guide on how to live are largely cultural in nature and only secondarily political. But such matters, I understand, are topics for another session of this subcommittee.

Thank you.

Senator DENTON. Thank you, Dr. Carlson.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Carlson along with questions and responses follows:]

THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF FAMILY BREAKDOWN IN THE UNITED STATES

Testimony by
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Before the
Subcommittee on Family and Human Services
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
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I. Introduction: Is American Family Life Really In Trouble?

The members of this subcommittee are to be commended for holding this hearing on the causes and consequences of family breakdown in America. These subjects are emotional and controversial ones. Yet, in my opinion, no other matters cut closer to the heart of America's current discontents.

The organization with which I am currently affiliated, The Rockford Institute, has devoted its energies to understanding the contemporary cultural crisis in America, of which family disintegration is among the most conspicuous symptoms. My own doctoral work focused on the "family policy" experience of Sweden and other West European countries during the 1920's and 1930's. I have since written frequently on the subjects of family disruption and family policy in America. I am pleased to have an opportunity to share my thoughts with this subcommittee.

One could be forgiven for claiming confusion over the whole family question. On the one hand, there are still frequent expressions of optimism concerning the future of the family in America. One survey, for example, recently reported that 9 out of every 10 Americans say that their families are "very important" to their basic sense of individual worth, the highest rating given to any social institution. The Census Bureau notes that 90% of all Americans can be expected to marry at some point in their lives, suggesting that we Americans are still the "marrying" sort. Scholars participating in the Research Forum of the 1980 White House Conference on Families concluded that "what we are witnessing today is not the breakup of traditional family patterns but the emergence of a pluralism in family ways."[1] In fact, a minor industry has grown up within the sociological profession celebrating our "changing families" and the "new pluralism" of family forms.

But on the other hand, there remain those awful, haunting statistics suggesting rampant, accelerating social decomposition within the United States. An estimated one million of our children now live on the streets, a third of them supporting themselves through child prostitution. The nation's divorce rate has tripled since 1958, while the marriage rate in 1979 stood at its lowest level in 40 years. The number of divorced persons per 1000 married persons climbed from 35 in 1960 to 100 by 1980; among black women, the increase was from 78 to 257. The U.S. fertility rate (births per 1000 women aged 15-44) fell from 122.7 in 1957 to 66.7 in 1975, reflecting a rapid retreat by Americans from childbearing. Over the same years, the illegitimacy ratio (illegitimate births per 1000 live births) tripled, reaching 142.5 in 1975. Of the 3.5 million children born in the U.S. in 1979, 17 percent were born to unmarried women; among black Americans, the figure was 55%, almost three times the figure from the mid-1950's. Four out of every ten out-of-wedlock births in 1979 were to teenage girls, who commonly became children raising children. The scope of human abortion in the USA has skyrocketed from an estimated 100,000 illegal abortions each year during the late 1950's, to 615,000 in 1973 (the first year when the procedure was legal in every state), to 1.6 million last year. The scope, rate, social significance, and public policy implications of these changes are staggering.

II. A Single Cause of Family Breakdown, But Plenty of Guilt To Go Around

In face of these developments, two questions are in order:

First, what caused this dramatic breakdown in the American family life?

And second, why do analysts of the situation give such divergent interpretations to the same raw data?

In a basic sense, these two questions have the same answer. Both the breakdown of American family life and the unwillingness of many persons to acknowledge this breakdown are the common result of what can be called the collapse of the "nuclear family" norm.

Forgive here my descent into sociological jargon, but it seems necessary. Simply defined, norms are those models or patterns which shape our behavior, those thousands of unwritten rules, assumptions, and beliefs which we learn from our parents, peers, and teachers and which guide our daily actions at home, in the workplace, at play, or at worship. Cultural and social norms provide a society with its ordering principles, its measures of morality and deviance or right and wrong, and its legacy to subsequent generations. Norms define for individuals the nature of responsibility, the ultimate purposes of social life, and the proper basis for human relationships.

For most of our nation's history, the nuclear family--that is, the married couple with their children--served as the normative, idealized image of the American Family. Rooted in the middle class virtues of hard work, delayed gratification, and self-imposed restraints on personal behavior, the characteristics of this family form were: a heterosexual marriage based on love and free choice; the confinement of sexual relations to marriage; the primacy of family attachments; economic security for women and children; the obligation among family members for mutual support in crisis; and the acceptance of sex-determined roles ("mother" and "father") within the family. While certainly never universal, and often not even a majority phenomenon, the nuclear family norm stood well into the twentieth century as an ideal to be striven towards, as the popular measure of normality and deviance, and as the mark of responsibility and respectability. It enjoyed the support of most other American social institutions, including government, the law, organized religion, the media, and the educated elite.

For complex and not wholly understood reasons, this normative model actually strengthened its influence in American society during the 1950's. Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons could affirm by 1961 that there was "a single and relatively well integrated and fully institutionalized system of values in American society" rooted in family and religious faith that "has not undergone a fundamental change in recent times."[2] Reviewing polling data from the era, social analyst Daniel Yankelovich concluded that the 1950's exhibited a set of core values--family solidarity, children, home ownership, civic responsibility, and honor--which "gave Americans a sense of self-esteem and identity, a feeling of effectiveness and a conviction that their private goals and behavior contributed to the well-being of others."[3] As late as 1967, Gerald Leslie could still declare in his popular family sociology textbook, *The Family in Social Context*, that the "white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle-class family is a kind of prototype for the larger society. . . . Its patterns are 'ideal' patterns for much of the non-white, non-Anglo-, non-Protestant, non-middle-class segment of the population. . . . *In twentieth-century America, however, an increasing proportion of the population is achieving the ideal*."[4]

What caused the collapse of this apparently successful, even imposing, societal model of how one should live "the good life"?

A. *Ideological Assault*

To begin with, the prevailing American family structure came under an unprecedented ideological assault. Opponents came from many directions:

(1) *The Marxist Left*. In an 1884 treatise, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's famed collaborator, had stressed the closely connected nature of the middle-class family model and modern market capitalism. The defeat of one, he reasoned, would bring the defeat of the other. "With the transfer of the means of production into common ownership," Engels wrote, "the single family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children becomes a public affair; society looks after all children alike, whether they are legitimate or not. . .[W]ill not that suffice to bring about the gradual growth of unrestrained sexual intercourse. . . ?"[5] When "New

Left" activists emerged in America during the early 1960's, they adopted these old Marxist perspectives on "collective childrearing" and "non-represaive sexuality" in the pursuit of their agenda, correctly perceiving that free-market capitalism and the modern family were closely related enemies.

(2) The Sexual Liberationists. The evidence, I believe, is overwhelming that there were major discontinuities in the sex life of most Americans after 1960; in sum, a true sexual revolution. A simple comparison of Alfred Kinsey's famed studies of human sexuality during the 1940's with Morton Hunt's 1972 research shows that, on average, most Americans in the early 1970's--young and old alike--were having more sex, doing it in different ways, with a greater variety of partners, and feeling less guilty about it afterwards, than did their Kinsey-survey counterpart.

While medical, physiological, and technological advances all played a role in bringing on the famed "sex revolution," there were activists and a vague, if effective, ideology behind the transformation. In the April 1983 issue of Mother Jones, Institution for Policy Studies scholar Barbara Ehrenreich focuses --correctly, I believe--on the role of Playboy magazine and the "Playboy philosophy" in planting the seeds of family disruption during the mid-1950's. As editor Hugh Hefner wrote for his first issue: "We want to make clear from the very start, we aren't a 'family magazine'." According to Ms. Ehrenreich, Playboy's message for men "was not eroticism, but escape--literal escape, from the bondage of breadwinning," involving an open critique of marriage, the dismissal of children as irrelevant, and a utopian vision focused on the hedonistic pleasures.[6]

In 1973, the Playboy Press published its own history of the modern sex revolution. Entitled The Rape of the A*P*E* (*American *Puritan *Ethic), the book described in surprisingly candid terms the successful "obscening of America." Wrote author Allan Sherman: "Carefully, and often secretly, my generation manned (?) the battlefronts of the [Sex] Revolution. We produced and sold the rock'n'roll records with risque lyrics; we invented the term 'wonder drug', and LSD as the true panacea, pushing it at the kids in the hallowed atmosphere at Harvard. My generation wrote and read bestsellers with nothing more to recommend them than a half-dozen paragraphs of old-fashioned smut. . . . We invented or at least perfected wife swapping. We performed illegal abortions. We crowded into the dark to watch those stupid stag films."

According to Sherman, this conscious assault on the sexaul restraints sustained by middle-class culture became, in time, an attack on the whole "incredibly clean-cut and impossibly wholesome" American World of Disney, church socials, Shirley Temple, the YMCA, Blondie and Dagwood, The Saturday Evening Post, motherhood, miniature golf, Apple Pie, and Hot Dogs. In the end, Sherman suggested, the Sex Revolution of the 1960's and early '70's "removed America's backbone and revealed our awful secret: Stripped of the Puritan ethic, we have no morals at all." He added that "nothing was reduced to less recognizable rubble than the revered. . .Institution of Marriage."[7]

(3) Populationists. Neo-Malthusian fears of supposed American "over population" began growing in the mid-1960's.

While normally calling only for smaller families (one or two children as opposed to four or five), the neo-Malthusians sometimes turned to attacks on parenthood and family in general, finding "The myth of Mom and Apple Pie" and attitudes exalting the role of parenthood to be dangerous.[8] Under their influence, neo-Malthusianism became by the early 1970's the more-or-less official policy of the U.S. government, with large families and population growth viewed, at best, as unwelcome and, at worst, as virtual social pathologies and the appropriate targets for state activism.[9]

(4) Radical feminism. By the early 1970's, the cutting edge of the women's movement found the nuclear family--particularly the burdens of children--to be a chief stumbling block to its ideological goals. Summarizing "The Movement's" perspective, sociologist Jessie Bernard cited the insights of Karl Marx and concluded that "the diagnosis of the family as the major roadblock to the full emancipation of women is very old. . . . Merely helping women bear the load of child care and child rearing is viewed as inadequate."[10] On an even more radical note, Women and Revolution, a "newspaper of revolutionary women's liberation," declared in 1971 that "the institution of the family is inherently reactionary and helps to maintain the capitalist system. The family. . .is oppressive to its members. Women are especially oppressed by the family. . . ." Another widely circulated essay in this era labeled married women dishonest "prostitutes," for, unlike the real thing, they lied about their true role in life. The same piece called the American home "the basis of all evil."[11]

Other intellectual and social movements from the 1960's and early '70's joined gleefully in this assault on the nuclear family norm. Starting in 1965, scholars began arguing that middle-class values were irrelevant to black Americans and other racial minorities. Daniel P. Moynihan's famed Labor Department report that year on "The Negro Family," which focused on the urban "pathologies" of divorce, desertion, illegitimacy, and female-headed families affecting a growing proportion of blacks, brought howls of protest from minority activists and their allies in the universities. In representative fashion, sociologist Robert Staples declared that "[d]ivorce, illegitimacy, and female-headed households are not necessarily dysfunctional except in the context of Western, middle-class, white values."[12] Homosexuals, organizing politically after 1969, frequently attacked the normative nature of the nuclear family, seeking to end its special status and win public acceptance of their sexual orientation as merely "another" life-style. The Human Potential Movement, focusing on the health and fulfillment of the self, tended to view family ties and responsibilities as impediments to self-realization and advised its followers and clients to cast off such "unhealthy" burdens. And so on down the list.

B. Desertion by Once-Supportive Institutions

Such opponents were formidable enough. Yet the nuclear family model even found the institutions that once supported it deserting to the other side.

(1) The Social Sciences. Among the social sciences, for example, the interpretations of Talcott Parsons and his school gave way during the 1960's to a new relativism. Articles

appearing after 1965 critically dissected the nuclear family "bias" found within the sociological profession. Marriage counselors, psychiatrists, and social workers who accepted this family model as "healthy," one author wrote, were little more than "zoo keepers" sustaining a dangerous "pathology."[13] Such ideas spread rapidly. The report of Forum 14 of the 1970 White House Conference on Children and Youth serves as a significant benchmark of change. Authored by a cross section of the nation's most well-connected sociologists, it defined family as merely "a group of individuals in interaction," described optional family forms ranging from nuclear families to "single parent," "communal," "group marriage," and "homosexual" varities, and welcomed the contemporary movement "to destroy the cultural myth of a 'right' or 'best' way to behave, believe, work or play."

(2) The Churches. Already exhibiting a general relativization of moral values, a growing non-judgmentalism concerning personal behavior, and a new tendency to borrow agendas from secular political movements, many churches--once supportive centers of the nuclear family--absorbed heavy doses of the new relativism regarding family life and shifted ground. Even such a traditionally conservative body as the American Lutheran Church could issue a document in 1976 that defined a family as but "a relationship community of more than one person" and affirmed "a diversity of types or forms of family existing in modern American society."

(3) The Media. The electronic media, need it be said, wandered from the nuclear family norm that it had so visibly supported during the 1950's. Programming staples such as

The Donna Reed Show, Father Knows Best, and Leave It To Beaver gave way to a new breed of "family" shows such as One Day At A Time, Three's Company, and Love Sidney.

(4) The Law. As late as the mid-1960's, most state marriage laws continued to reflect the nuclear family model, presuming a lifelong commitment, a first marriage, procreation as an essential element of marriage, some division of labor within the family, middle-class status, and the Judeo-Christian ideal of a monogamous, heterosexual union.[14] But when stripped of their normative character, these laws came under challenge. Social forces as divergent as the U.S. Supreme Court and the divorce-law-reform movement have participated in this unraveling of a long-standing moral consensus. While the family todey still enjoys a special and protected legal status among the states, this treatment is slowly eroding away.

C. Internal Weaknesses

Finally, in accounting for the collapse of the nuclear family norm and for the very real incidence of broken families and human pain that has come in its wake, it is important to note two internal weaknesses characterizing the American family system during the 1950's; weaknesses which left the system vulnerable to attack and which, at least indirectly, contributed to the social disarray we now face.

First, black Americans and other minority groups were not wholly integrated into the scheme. There is nothing intrinsically racist about the middle-class nuclear family model. The so-called "black bourgeoisie" has been a vigorous element in American society for most of this century and has exhibited strong attachment to traditional family values. The same could be said for the Hispanic or the Japanese-American middle-classes. Nonetheless, in popular terms, these groups were generally treated as "invisible" elements of 1950's America. To choose but one example, black faces seldom intruded into the white suburbia implicitly celebrated in that era's television situation comedies.

And second, the image of "the suburban American woman" created and sustained during the 1950's by the commercialized media was clearly inadequate. It proved susceptible to erosive and partly sound critiques such as Betty Friedan's 1963 book, The Feminine Mystique. Granting this, though, it is important to add that there is no intrinsic conflict between the legitimate aspirations of women in the workplace (or elsewhere) and the middle-class family model. Even during the 1950's, when the birthrate soared above Depression-era lows and the whole nation seemed to be in "the family way," record numbers of married women were moving into the workplace. Feminism neither caused nor can be blamed for this development. Indeed, no ideology was attached to it at all. Significantly, however, attitudes of commitment to family members may have been involved. As one befuddled researcher concluded in 1969, "American wives may have entered the labor force [during the 1950's] as a means of raising the status of their family rather than as a means of raising their own status."[15]

Taken together, the attacks on the nuclear family model, the defections of once-supportive institutions to the critical side, and the specific weaknesses which the model displayed during the 1950's proved ruinous. While polling data indicates that the vast majority of Americans still long for (and a large minority still live) a life generally in line with this model, I think it is fair to conclude that the nuclear family does not currently enjoy "normative status." The moral authority once attached to the nuclear family--indeed, to the whole of middle-class culture--has been largely striped away. As a result, family life as seen through the popular culture--television, movies, literature, the schools, the magazines--stands *relativized*. The nuclear family is now portrayed and is increasingly perceived as only *one of many* ways of organizing the basic cell of society, no better and no worse than communal living, serial marriages, "blended" families, the "gay" lifestyle, the "singles" subculture or any other form of "human interaction" that the mind might conceive.

III. On the Devastating Societal Consequences

What are the societal consequences of this dramatic change in family values?

While some praise the "new pluralism" and the emerging era of unimpeded choice, I am unimpressed by their arguments, I believe that the breakdown of the nuclear family model in the United States must be viewed as no less than a social disaster. The recent *relativization* of family life continues to gnaw away at the very foundations of human community, threatening our future as a nation. Family ties of any kind--but especially the bond of parents to their children--demand emotional, financial, and temporal sacrifice and a considerable degree of personal risk and self-denial. In the past, our society compensated for this, in part, by the honor and prestige granted to those who bore and raised children. But with little social prestige now attached to marriage or offspring, a shrinking pool of Americans are finding the uncertainties and burdens of family life--those open-ended commitments to spouse and offspring--worth the price. As Yankelovich has put it, "Having a family without a record of divorce, maintaining a well-kept home, exhibiting one's children as well-mannered and neat and clean in appearance have all been drained of much of their symbolic significance. . . . As the norms supporting self-denying respectability weaken, inevitably the sense of [community] must weaken too." He notes that inter-generational ties in America are collapsing; according to one poll, two thirds of Americans now believe that "parents should be free to live their own lives even if it means spending less time with their children" and that "children do not have an obligation to their parents regardless of what their parents have done for them."[16]

Moreover, minority groups are proving to be the principle victims of the new relativism in family values. Back in 1965, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. affirmed that the nuclear family--"the group consisting of mother, father, and child"--was "the main educational agency of mankind" and the "foundation for stability, understanding and social peace" on which the "whole of society" rested. Even then, he labeled the prevailing levels of divorce, illegitimacy, and female-headed families found in the black ghetto to be "a social catastrophe."[17] Eighteen years later, the frequency of these social pathologies in the black community has increased by a factor of three. What do we label "a social catastrophe" multiplied by three? Whatever it might be called, millions of our citizens are now trapped in just that situation. Only recently have a significant number of black scholars, misled for two decades by a bogus sociology affirming "the strength" of female-headed families, started returning to the essential truth affirmed by the Rev. King that any blueprint for black progress must heavily focus on "repairing" the black family. Nonetheless, the time that has been lost and the incalcuable costs in wasted lives and devastated human potential are appalling to consider.

Some also suggest that we Americans are moving toward a new "ethic of commitment," some startlingly fresh vision of community that will somehow manage to save us from our follies. Again, I am not impressed by the arguement. "Moral visions" and "communities" are not conjured out of thin air. As one writer for Dissent magazine recently put it, "there is no way to create real communities out of an aggregate of 'freely' choosing adults."[18] Moral community must be deeply rooted in history, in faith, in personal sacrifice, and in the exercise of social responsibility. For this reason, I agree with the conclusion of Brigitte and Peter L. Berger in their new book, The War Over The Family. "There is," they write, "no alternative to the bourgeois family in the contemporary world."

The necessary task in restoring this family model as a guide on "how to live" are largely cultural in nature, and only secondarily political. But such matters, I understand, are topics for another session of this committee.

Thank you for your attention.

FOOTNOTES

[1] White House Conference on Families, The Report: Listening to America's Families (Washington, DC, 1980), p. 159.

[2] Talcott Parsons and Winston White, "The Link Between Character and Society," in Seymour Martin Lipset and Leo Lowenthal, editors, Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed (New York, 1961), p. 100.

[3] Daniel Yankelovich, New Rules (New York, 1982), pp. 120-21.

[4] Gerald Leslie, The Family in Social Context (New York, 1967). Emphasis added.

[5] Friedrich Engels, the Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (New York: International Publishers, 1942), p. 67.

[6] Barbara Ehrenreich, "The Male Revolt," Mother Jones, April 1983, p. 28.

[7] Allan Sherman, The Rape of the A*P*E* (*Amrican *Puritan *Ethic): The Official History of the Sex Revolution, 1945-1973 (Chicago: Playboy Press, 1973).

[8] For example, see: Ellen Peck and Judith Senderowitz, editors, Pronatalism: The Myth of Mom and Apple Pie (New York, 1974).

[9] In 1965, for example, President Lyndon Johnson convened a White House Conference on International Coopration that included a Panel on Population. This latter body suggested, in the words of one speaker, that "population stabilization" was "a necessary means to the enhancement and enrichment to human life. . . ." Nineteen-sixty-eight saw Johnson appoint a President's Committee on Population and Family Planning, which urged an enhanced governmental presence in the population control area. In an unprecedented July 18, 1969 "Message to Congress on Population," President Richard Nixon called on all Americans to recognize and respond to "the population crisis" facing the United States and the world. Congress subsequently created a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future "to formulate policy" dealing with "the pervasive impact on population growth on every facet of American life." Its 1972 report declared that the United States should "welcome and plan for stabilized population" through a comprehensive program of fertility control and population and sex education. In this spirit, the 197[illegible] Family Planning Act provided for the first time a federal subsidy for birth control clinics.

[10] Jessie Bernard, "Marriage and Nuclear Family as Target," in Gordon F. Strieb, editor, The Changing Family: Adaptation and Diversity (Reading, Mass., 1973), p. 31.

[11] From: Jean Bethke Elshtain,"Feminism, Family, and Community," Dissent (Fall 1982),p. 443.

Footnotes
page 2

[12] Quotation found in: Christopher Lasch, Haven in a Heartless World The Family Beseiged (New York,1977), p. 158.

[13] Ray L. Birdwhistell, "The American Family: Some Perspectives," Psychiatry (August 1966), pp. 203-12.

[14] See: Lenore J. Weitzman, "Legal Regulation of Marriage: Tradition and Change," California Law Review (Oct. 1964), pp. 1164-1277.

[15] Jeanne Clare Ridley, "The Changing Position of American Women: Education, Labor Force Participation and Fertility," in The Family in Transition: A Round Table Conference Sponsored by the John E. Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences, National Institutes of Health, November 3-6, 1969 (Washington, DC, 1971), p. 235.

[16] Yankelovich, New Rules, pp. 121, 103.

[17] Address by Martin Luther King, Jr. at Abbott House, Westchester County, New York, October 29, 1965.

[18] Elshtain, "Feminism, Family and Community," p. 442.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

SUBMITTED TO ALLAN C. CARLSON BY SENATOR DENTON

1. At least four areas of assault on the nuclear family which you describe have a direct impact on the role of women-- sexual liberation, anti-natalism, radical feminism, and the inadequate image of the suburban American housewife. It seems to me no wonder that so many women are confused. Could you describe the convictions you find in those women who successfully achieve the establishment of a strong nuclear family?

Reply: I can point to two circles of women who have successfully established strong nuclear families.

The first encompasses those women active in an organization called LaLeche League International. Founded by two women in 1956 to promote mother-to-mother knowledge of breastfeeding, it now encompasses a volunteer network of 13,000 carefully screened and certified "Leaders" who reach each month over 100,000 women in 40 countries. The League's central tenet, backed by a growing body of medical and social scientific evidence, is that breastfeeding leads to good mothering, which creates strong families, which benefits the whole of society. In contrast to the advocates of unfettered personal freedom, League members argue that a baby has a basic need for its mother's love and full-time presence "which is as intense as its need for food."

League members are at once radical and thoroughly traditional. On the former plane, the movement shows an inclination for overturning certain social and psychological "conventions," including an informed distrust of medical authority (often seen as hindering successful breastfeeding) and a proclivity for home births, the use of certified nurse-midwives for delivery (rather than the more clinical OB-GYN specialists), natural foods, "family beds," and nursing toddlers. At the same time, these women are thoroughly traditional, speaking out "for mothering as an important and worthwhile career."

A second circle would be those women who have gathered around the magazine Mothering, published in New Mexico. In one respect, this journal carries on certain traits derived from the counter-culture of the 1960's, including the use of non-erotic nudity and a sympathetic portrayal of alternatives to the competitiveness of the business culture. On the other hand, the journal celebrates the clear primacy of family relationships, an open love for children, a preference for large families, and a commitment to family independence combined with voluntary community support.

The common denominator here is love of spouse, love for children, and a willingness to make material and financial sacrifices in order to bear and raise offspring. This willingness to sacrifice for one's children is, of course, the heart of the family bond and altogether healthy. Tragically, though, the federal government keeps demanding greater and greater relative sacrifice. I have already described the process whereby the federal income tax burden has shifted dramatically onto the backs of parents with children since 1960. Similarly, while the federal tax code allows two-income families to take a substantial tax credit for the expenses incurred by hiring someone else to care for their children, families where one parent stays home to care for their own children enjoy no related benefit. So not only do these latter families sacrifice the advantages of a second income, they also receive the implicit message that Washington, DC prefers child-care by institutions or non-parents.

Fortunately though, some women and men ignore that message and persist in having babies and raising them.

2. *I was struck by your inclusion of the social sciences as an institution that deserted the nuclear family model. So many of our "helping" professions derive from the social sciences, such as social workers, psychologists, family therapists, etc., that this changing institution has major impact. How do you explain the shift, which you say began in the 1960's? Do you see areas of the social sciences which are returning to a concentration on the nuclear family?*

Reply: This shift in intellectual "fad" is quite complex in its origins. But clearly, one source of disorientation was the cancerous concept of cultural relativism.Throughout the 1950's, anthropologists raised objections to those sociologists who supported, even celebrated, the nuclear family model. Morris Opler, for example, rejected the 'nuclear-family' as a social norm because of its relation to middle class culture. [Morris E. Oppler, "Reviews of Murdock's *Social Structure*," *American Anthropologist* (Jan 1950), pp. 77.80.] In numerous works, the popular French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss blasted Western civilization's "parochial" refusal to accept the view that all cultures are equal.

These were minority voices during the 1950's. However, for reasons of civilizational weariness, personal irresponsibility, and pure boredom, they became *majority* voices during the 1960's. As a result, a system where normality and social health had been measured against a single yardstick (the nuclear-family model) gave way to a normless, amoral, non-judgmental *relativism*, where the counselor or therapist sought only to find what was "right" for the individual. Family needs or social needs became irrelevant considerations.

The result was social confusion. Consider Merwyn Cadwallander, who declared in a 1966 Atlantic article that "marriage is a wretched institution" where beautiful romances become "constrictive, corrosive, grinding, and destructive." Or ponder a 1972 article by Janis Kelly in the Family Coordinator (the leading journal among family counselors) which argued that women "cannot develop fully in a heterosexual context" and that "conditions allowing women "to love fully and without fear are at present met only in a homosexual setting." Or consider a 1971 article by "family counselor" Robert Harper, who urged a "blockbuster intensive therapeutic" federal program to "encourage, help, and foster" sexual play among small children. "To prevent sexual hang-ups in interactional as well as masturbatory sex," he added, "we have to start when children are barely toddlers."

This is not science. At best, it is absolute foolishness, unsupported by any scientific evidence. Nonetheless, by the early 1970's, virtually the whole family-sociology industry had turned in this direction. Journals such as The Family Coordinator, Journal of Marriage and the Family, Social Work, and Social Casework popularized and legitimized this professional assault on the American family system. Articles such as "Voluntary Childlessness--The Ultimate Liberation," "Sister Love: An Exploration of the Need for Homosexual Experience," and "Singlehood: An Alternative to Marriage" became part of the profession's stock literature. One 1975 study found that over 80 percent of the marriage- and family-counselors surveyed considered ". . .co-marital sex (CMS) [that is, infidelity] and alternative/experimental/emerging/variant/innovative/non-traditional marriage forms" to be acceptable, even "healthy" life-style options. But a handful of the family counselors continued to label persons involved in secret affairs, "sexually open marriage," and "swinging" as "personality deviants"; only 15 percent or so of the counselors said they would encourage their clients to abandon such behavior. [Ref.: Jacquelyn J. Knapp, "Some Non-Monogamous Marriage Styles and Related Attitudes and Practices of Marriage Counselors," The Family Coordinator (Oct. 1975), pp. 505-14.]

There are, of course, still exceptions. A few major sociologists--among them Robert Nisbet, Peter Berger, and Nathan Glazer--managed to swim against the tide. There remains a significant (and possibly growing) minority of social scientists still committed to objective research and social responsibility, but they often find themselves cut off from publishing and speaking opportunities by the dominant element. While the near-anarchical fanaticism of the relativists has faded somewhat since the early 1970's, they remain in control of the key professional levers.

3. I believe there is still some ambivalence in our society today as to where married women should draw the line between their devotion to career and the time they spend with their families. Is there a correlation at all in your mind between the role changes that have occurred between the sexes in recent years and the rising divorce rate?

Reply: Without question. Young women are today conditioned by the print and broadcast media to expect all of the following:

a wonderful career; a warm, tender, sharing husband willing to do fifty percent of the housework; frequent evenings at the theatre; fabulous friends who get together often for gourmet dinner parties; one or two charming, undemanding and brilliant children; frequent opportunities for travel; an occasional harmless affair on the side; etc., etc. But clearly, except for an extraordinarily wealthy and lucky few, it simply won't happen. The resulting stress and strain as reality falls short of expectation can only make marriage more vulnerable.

Most particularly, the "careerism" once criticized in men has become the latest female disorder. In either case, I believe, it represents a misordering of priorities. Do we live to work? Or work to live? While the former view now seems dominant, the latter is closer to the universal truth.

It is interesting to note that during the 1950's television situation comedies such as Ozzie and Harriet or I Love Lucy focused on the home as the scene of the most significant conflicts in individual lives. In contrast, programs of the 1970's and '80's such as The White Shadow, Hill Street Blues, The Mary Tyler Moore Show or Alice have cast "the job" or "the workplace" as the more congenial and supportive context for living, reflecting a "de-familized" American self-image.

This general elevation of "work" into the most important of human tasks has pushed the family into, at best, a secondary role. One undoubted result is a greater turn to divorce.

QUESTIONS FOR PANEL I

ANSWERS PROVIDED BY ALLAN C. CARLSON

1. Miss Decter makes some very strong statements in her testimony about the failure of parents to give their children an adequate moral framework within which to operate--child sacrifice, she calls it. Could the rest of you comment on her thesis--and on its role in our current problems?

Reply: Clearly, many parents fail in this regard. But it is also true that some succeed. A statistically disproportionate number of the latter, not surprisingly, are strongly religious people. A sense of the transcendent is critical to building and sustaining a moral framework within a given society.

2. "There's Dad and his wife, Mom and her second husband, Junior's two halfbrothers from his father's first marriage, his six stepsisters from his mother's spouse's previous unions, 100-year-old Great Grandpa, all eight of Junior's current grandparents, assorted aunts, uncles-in-law and stepcousins." This was the recent U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT forecast for the year 2033. Is this the family of the future that you foresee? If so, do you believe that the children of tomorrow can deal with the multiple relationships involved?

Reply: If current trends continue, this would indeed be the situation that shall prevail. Children, to be sure, are emotionally adaptable, and, for reasons of pure survival, usually manage to muddle through. Such a change in the American landscape, though, would be a societal calamity with the sole benefactor being the state. Multiple relationships, to begin with, would prove to be the death-knell to any sense of lineage or intergenerational ties and responsibilities. The individual, already cut off in industrial society from pre-industrial communities, would thereby lose the last and most critical bond tying him or her into a web embracing the past and the future. An aggravated ego-centrism is the probable result. Given multiple and often deeply conflicting family loyalties, it is unlikely that children will have much, if any, motivation to care for their parents in the latter's old age; leaving them (more than ever) the wards of the state.

Yet is it also necessary to be cautious here. "Trends" often represent attempts at self-fulfilling prophesy, and many advocates of "social relativism" and "non-traditional lifestyles" would like nothing better than that this vision from 2033 be deemed the inevitable future.

It is not. An amusing exercise is to read sociological studies from the late 1950's which, by interpreting then-existent trends, predicted a very different scenario for the future. Two researchers, for example, argued in 1958 that evident trends in the USA toward bureaucratic management and economic security would further "lower the rate of divorce and separation" and "raise again the criteria and competence and gifts of homemaking to renewed importance in the choice of a marriage partner." [Daniel P. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent (New York, 1958), p. 201.] Others predicted an ever-rising American birthrate: 6 million births per year by 1975, suggested one analyst (the actual figure was close to 3 million).

In sum, trends should never be viewed as inevitable outcomes. The important task for public policymakers is to identify desirable outcomes, and then fashion policy in line with those goals.

3. As you know, the title of our hearing today is "Broken Families: Causes and Societal Implications." Some would say that the developing malaise within the institution of the family threatens the very survival of our civilization. How would you respond to that statement?

Reply: Without question, this judgment is correct. A civilization ultimately rests on the willingness of its human members to make sacrifices--even to die--on its behalf. My own research indicates that, in the context of American civilization, devotion to God and devotion to family have formed the core of our national, moral identity. Our willingness to defend our country has ultimately rested on the belief that the United States represents a social order worth defending.

In contrast, a decadent society is one where everyone plays safe, where no real risks are taken by individuals on behalf of that society. Today, pervasive anti-family attitudes, the "zero population growth" and "small is beautiful" mentalities, the anti-technology sentiments, and widespread pacifism all suggest that the United States may have entered a cycle of decadece.

4. How successful do you believe institutional child care services can be, either in whole or in part, as a replacement for parental time and care in child rearing?

Reply: Pre-school children need the constant attention of someone who loves them as little persons altogether special and unique. The whole body of honest psychological evidence confirms that a child needs its full-time mother (or surrogate mother). Even at their best, day-care centers or similar institutional arrangements cannot--by their very nature--provide this kind of loving, individualized attention. The result of the day-care experience, I fear, will be emotionally-crippled children prematurely "socialized" into the pressures of the peer-group and "defamilized" at an early age. The turn of working parents to so-called "quality time" is, I believe, a fraudulent response. In my opinion, then, while sometimes necessary, institutional child-rearing is never desirable.

5. I have enclosed a copy of an article from PUBLIC OPINION (January, 1983), entitled "Hollywood and America: The Odd Couple," by Linda Lichter, S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman. The article describes a survey of 104 of Hollywood's "media elite", a survey of backgrounds, political views, and religious and moral beliefs. You will note that those interviewed describe themselves as being considerably more left of center than the average American. I would be interested in your comments on any of the findings of the survey as they relate to the role of the media in influencing public attitudes toward the family.

Reply: As my answers to several earlier questions indicate, I think the media--particularly television and mass-market magazines--have had and are still having a profound influence on the development of family life in America. Interestingly, during the 1950's, this influence was positive. That era's television situation comedies and dramas portrayed the home as the central focus of American life, affirmed and supported the nuclear-family model, and treated pre- and extra-marital sex, divorce, and abortion as social pathologies. Magazines such as Life or The Saturday Evening Post showed a clear moral direction in editorial policy. And so on.

Today, television has elevated the workplace to the central arena in American life. Divorce, non-marital sex, and abortion are treated as matters-of-course. New national magazines such as People reflect a kind of moral anarchy--"I'm OK, You're OK"--where Mother Theresa of Calcutta and Larry Flynt of "Hustler" are essentially cast as moral equals, each "doing their own thing."

The Lichter, Lichter and Rothman article practically answers the question itself. The social attitudes of the media kingpins do indeed reflect a deep antipathy toward the traditional family values found in America. Little wonder that the shows they produce do also.

Senator **Denton**. I want to acknowledge the arrival and presence of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, the distinguished Senator from Utah, Senator Orrin Hatch, who actually reorganized the subcommittees under his committee to include this subcommittee, which to our knowledge represented the first time, certainly the first time in modern history, in which a subcommittee in the Senate included the term "family." There have been a number of expressions this morning praising the subcommittee's effort to address some of the family's problems, and I want to acknowledge that the subcommittee would not exist without the initiative of Senator Hatch, and indeed, we would not have enjoyed the degree of success we have were it not for his support, which is represented by his presence here this morning.

I would like to invite him to make a few remarks, and we note that we do have a very eminent churchman from his State here this morning, which I am sure he is aware of.

Senator Hatch?

Senator **Hatch**. Thank you, Senator Denton.

I would like to, of course, extend my welcome to all of you before this very important subcommittee. I read your statements, and they are very interesting to me.

Miss Decter, I have to admit I have been a devotee of yours for many years—I do not think you have known that—but I really enjoyed that statement, and I just want to compliment you on it and compliment each of you for the efforts that you have put forth.

I am really pleased to join with Senator Denton, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Family and Human Services, in the third of a series of hearings on the breakdown of the traditional family. This subcommittee is developing a historical public record on the problems facing families, and I commend Senator Denton in particular for his efforts. I do not know of anybody in the Senate who could have headed up this subcommittee any better than Senator Denton has, and I really commend him for it.

Presently, there are over 1,000 Government programs that have a direct impact on family and its structure. One of my earliest goals as a public official has been and remains the reduction in the degree of Government intrusion into our lives and the eradication of laws and regulations harmful to American families. Our Government should not be permitted to play the role of "big brother" and serve as a wedge to divide husbands from wives or parents from their children. The Government should serve the interests of the citizens and the families, and not the reverse, and I think our laws should always reflect this particular idea.

This is why today's subcommittee hearing is so important. We need to examine and reexamine our laws and regulations that affect families. We need to further our Federal purpose to preserve the integrity of the American family. We need to rekindle the family responsibility and individual autonomy in every area of social policy. I am talking about education, religion, taxation, and of course, all of our domestic relations problems.

The late and great Justice Frankfurter observed:

> It is plain that the interest of a parent in the companionship, care, custody and management of his or her children comes to this Court with a momentum for re-

> spect lacking when appeal is made to liberties which derive merely from shifting economic arrangements and that it is cardinal with us that the custody, care and nuture of the child reside first in the parents, whose primary function and freedom include preparation for our obligations the state can neither supply nor hinder.

Some of the statistics concerning our society have been discussed in previous hearings. More will be included in today's record. Let me restate just a few of these.

In 1981, there were approximately 10,513,000 American families maintained by women. In about 40 percent of these families, the mother was not in the labor force. Fully 59 percent of children born in 1983 will live with only one parent before they reach the age of 18. More than 50 percent of the children in families headed by a female live in poverty, compared with only 8 percent in husband/wife families. A recent census report found that 8.4 million women nationwide had custody of their children in 1981, yet less than half had been awarded child support. Of those entitled to payments, only 47 percent received the full amount—an average of $40 per week. Another 25 percent got partial payments; 28 percent got nothing. The disinclination of many men to help support their children is often cited as a major reason that more women are falling into poverty.

Because of these statistics, I have enlisted a working group to advise me on possible legislation to ease the pain from these statistics. I am pleased in this regard to welcome Dr. Richard Lindsay, who is director of public communications and special affairs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, who will testify today. Dr. Lindsay, in his testimony, rightfully calls these problems "the feminization of poverty." In the next few weeks, I intend to share with my colleagues some legislative proposals meant to address these critical issues, and in particular, the feminization of poverty.

In conclusion, let me reiterate. Too often in the past years, we have seen Federal laws divide or prove harmful to parents and their children on issues of deep moral and personal significance. Parents continue to be the best source of help, strength and counsel that young people can receive. Governments should do nothing to weaken these family ties, but strengthen them. We in the legislative branch cannot afford to lose sight of what Dr. Lindsay makes as a central point: "What strengthens the family strengthens society."

Mr. Chairman, if I could at this time, because I have all kinds of conflicts this morning, and I am reading the testimony here today and of course, participating strongly with you in this committee, I would like to just take a second or two to introduce Dr. Linsay at this time, even though he is on the next panel, so that I can show the respect that he deserves as a testifier here today.

Senator Denton. Of course, Mr. Chairman. Please proceed.

Senator Hatch. I appreciate the opportunity to welcome my friend, Dr. Richard Lindsay, as a witness this morning. Dr. Lindsay has a distinguished record for his work in social services within both the public and the private sectors in Utah and elsewhere. He served as a State legislator. He has served as a very high church leader. He has worked with thousands of people and thousands of families from all walks of life, from all degrees of the economic spectrum. And I would like to congratulate him on his new appointment as director of public communications and special affairs for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

I look forward to hearing Dr. Lindsay's views and, of course, the views of everybody here, on the impact of public policies on the family, and I am further pleased that Dr. Lindsay's testimony and insights will become part of the permanent record of this committee.

We appreciate, Dr. Lindsay, your appearing, and we are grateful to have you here today, and hope this will be the first of a number of appearances that you will make before this committee, and perhaps, others as well here on Capitol Hill. I am glad to have you here.

Again, I have really enjoyed the statements of the first panel here, and as a matter of fact, a number of the statements throughout the day of hearings, and we appreciate the efforts that have been put forth. And I have to admit, I think these have been very provocative statements, and this makes for a very interesting hearing.

Again, Mr. Chairman, thank you. I really compliment you for your leadership in this area. I really have a great deal of respect for you, because sometimes it is difficult to lead in this area.

Senator DENTON. Thank you very much, Senator Hatch. Your supportive remarks are indeed encouraging, and they have been translated into deeds on many occasions, as I previously acknowledged. I know you have several conflicts, and we want to thank you for your appearance here this morning.

Our next witness represents the American Psychiatric Association. Dr. Herbert Sacks is a clinical professor of psychiatry and pediatrics at the Yale University School of Medicine.

Dr. Sacks, welcome, and you may proceed with your statement, sir.

Dr. SACKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Denton, and Senator Hatch. I am pleased to testify in behalf of the American Psychiatric Association, which is a medical specialty organization representing over 28,000 American psychiatrists, on the issue of causes and societal implications of broken families.

The APA Council on Children, Adolescents and Their Families, which I have been honored to have been a member of over the past year, has struggled with these problems in a variety of ways.

Let me say that, in accord with what everybody here has indicated, we are fully aware that there have been a scirocco, if you will, of events, rapid and sweeping social changes in our Nation, which have affected the structure and functioning of marriage and family life. In recent decades, there has been a progressive disorganization of the family, attributed in part to rising divorce rates, urbanization, and scattering of the extended family, and the increase in numbers of working mothers.

Psychiatry really got interested in this problem in 1902, when Dr. William Healy in Chicago organized a psychiatric clinic for children to study delinquent behavior and family interactions. Since then, psychiatrists have become students of family life and their impact on mental health.

We all agree that a stable, loving, and mutually nurturing family unit has long been viewed as an important social and psychological environment for sound emotional development of children and subsequent promotion of mental health in adulthood. But scientific findings based on carefully controlled and quantified studies are not yet adequate to assert the complex and delicate nature of the relationships between the various forms of family disruption and discord and their long-range effect on the mental health of marital partners and their children.

However, in accord with Senator Hatch's comments, even before the research results will be fully available, we already have a considerable body of clinical experience to recommend statutory changes to safeguard the rights of children, enhance the collection of child support, and to assure appropriate and considered visitation rights of the absent parent.

Our present level of knowledge urges the adoption of intervention programs for the reduction of multiple-risk families, for the provision of mediation and clinical services for families in distress and for community education.

There is a long history of cumulative marital difficulty before anyone gets divorced. Often the decision is catalyzed by accidental trauma, unpredicted and wanted, but for the most part, this major life decision is never taken capriciously, but as a consequence of chronic marital unhappiness, expressed in frustration, loneliness, isolation, anger, and depression. As you are aware, anger may culminate in physical abuse of spouse or children; infidelity may occur after the intimate marital bonds have been severed through despair or chronic conflict, which leads to diminished self-esteem. Infidelity, per se, then, is not a principal reason for divorce.

The circumstances underlying divorce are multiple and complex, and not adequately encompassed by statistical generalizations or reflected in statements of formal legal grounds.

There are multiple theories cited in the scientific literature and replayed two-dimensionally in the media, advancing specific causes of divorce in this decade. Prejudice brought to this changed subject often determines which theory is presented as ascendent. Such presentations ignore the subtle, many-leveled reasons, all mediated through the idiosyncratic personality conflicts within each of the players.

Some of the single-causation theorists have blamed unemployment, family violence, narcisism, changing role expectations, the sexual revolution, and the failure of American religious institutions. On a multiple choice test with no opportunity to explicate the complexity of this family calamity, we would answer "All of the above."

Some selected data reflect the changes which have taken place with respect to marriage and divorce in the past several decades. We have a population of over 226 million, of whom 50 million are married. Seventy-nine percent of this population are in their first marriages. We know there are causative correlations between educational level and marital stability, as college graduates have the most stable marriages. Positive correlations exist between measures of personal success, income level, and marital stability. We knew that interracial and interreligious marriages are more vulnerable to divorce.

Low material assets, in contradistinction to low income level predisposes to divorce. The increasing employment of women in the workplace seems to be associated with increased divorce rate, but there is no scientifically established causal relationship.

We know that mental disorder is more frequent in the divorced population, but this is not necessarily the consequence of divorce. As those of us who have been successfully married know, successful marriage requires sustained adaptation in the behavior of both partners, and emotional maturity.

Marriages today, on a more hopeful note, are more durable and last longer, due to increased longevity. One in five couples married once can anticipate reaching their 50th anniversary.

The divorce rate in 1980 fell to 5.2 per 1,000 population, the first decline since 1961-62. But in 1980, there were 1.89 million divorces, involving over 2 million adults, and 1.174 million children. The usual media claim that half the marriages end in divorce is incorrect, since the majority of couples marrying in a given year are not the same ones who divorce in that year. The most common sequel to American divorce is remarriage, which constitutes one-third of all marriages in 1977. The chances for remarriage of women improve if they are white, young, have few children, and are not poor. But before the event of remarriage, a divorced family is at risk and psychologically vulnerable; the parents are guilty, anxious, angry and depressed. Social and economic problems ensue. They are inevitable. The burden of family survival largely falls on one parent, whose psychological and economic reserves are diminished and who does not have the supportive presence of another caring adult to cope with expected developmental changes in children and their marked response to crises in daily living. Ninety percent of children of divorce have their mothers as the custodial parent. These women, struggling with complex psychosocial and economic issues, tend to be withdrawn from their children, unavailable emotionally and physically. These women take a considerable period of time to reconstitute, and given the years of skirmishing and fire fights before the divorce, their child-rearing capacities and functions are often limited, skewed, and impaired during the vital years of the child's growth and development. We see the cumulative effect on children of psychologically drained custodial parents. We see children angry, depressed, feeling uniquely wounded. The absent extended family and social supports in the community lead to an extraordinary sense of isolation of family members. This picture of commonly observed responses to family dissolution do not usually eventuate in mental illness, but nonetheless, they are severely distressing, functionally disabling, and often require clinical intervention for parents and children.

For children born in 1983, the U.S. Census Bureau estimates that 45 percent will experience their parents' divorce, 35 percent will experience their parents' remarriage, and 20 percent will experience divorce within that remarriage. For children, then, the marital breakup has been extremely disturbing, and sustained emotional consequences frequently lead to an outbreak of symptomatic behavior.

Those of us who have had experience with the juvenile justice system recognize some of the data which suggest that most juvenile delinquents have come from disturbed and broken families.

There is inconclusive data establishinq a linkage between divorce in a child's life and the later occurrence of mental illness. So often, clinicians have treated children and adolescents who have been relieved by the divorce and the attendant over battling, violence, and what children now call "whacko" behavior on the part of one or another parent—parents who previously have been stable and fine models. In the crisis of divorce, the kids fantasize about their contributory role in the breakup and how early, consciously experienced wishes were realized. They fear that they are being uncared for by parents with deep self-preoccupations who voice bitter convictions about a former loved spouse. The children worry—will the departing parent make it? Can he manage his job? The loss of family itself becomes an object of grief. In their isolation and exposure to untoward behavior of the two most important figures in their lives, these children often get into behavioral and learning difficulties in school with peers and teachers, as noted above.

There are many policy planning recommendations which could be made, and perhaps it is impossible to summarize in a brief talk. But public agencies and the private sector must address a more realistic national family policy, given the expectation that during the years ahead, divorce and remarriage will continue to be part of the matrix of American life. The mental health needs of families in marital crisis, with special attention to safeguarding the children who guarantee the survival of our society, have been largely ignored and unserved. The unavailability of supports, resources, and services in this day of the nuclear family makes for confusion, overpowering anxiety and pervasive feelings of hopelessness and helplessness for the children and their parents.

Divorce is a grave concern that yields uncertain supportive action by friends and family who are often discomforted by issues which resonate unpleasantly in their own marriages. Moral convictions, religious belief and the Protestant ethic tend to support the view in the body politic that the State should not intrude into family life by offering programmatic solutions. So, divorcing parents, alone in sadness and embittered and in disarray, are compelled to develop planning and resolutions and custody arrangements and economic considerations to protect their children's growth and development.

We would recommend economic support by fathers. In the context of this, many recommendations have been made to change this egregious situation, ranging from using the IRS to deduct payments from withholding taxes, when single mothers have gone to the Government for welfare help, to setting up a federally administered child support system. We would recommend conseling, State-mandated counseling at the point of marital rupture for a period of time. Counseling should be allied with mediation services to avoid or mitigate the adversarial process which so often exacerbates angry parental attitudes directed toward one partner by the other and is damaging to the children. In the context of this, let me point out that the 10 leading law schools have become aware that mediation sometimes is a wiser move and can help parents in conflict discover the truth about themselves, rather than the often damaging adversarial process, which serves other interests in our society.

Reduce the number of multiple risk families. We consider that strengthening vocational and remedial education, career path counseling, family planning education, clinical facilities, and the subsidization of employment programs may be indicated.

Another element we would recommend are community child care support services. In the context of Senator Hatch's comments about single-parent families, largely women, we would support the establishment and the strengthening of after school care and daycare services; we would engage church facilities, family service agencies and child guidance centers to set up programs which provide nursery schools, recreational opportunity, and social groupings.

In the area of mental health facilities, the child mental health facilities truly must be strengthened, and new ones have to be established. Community mental health centers, which serve families and children, and family service agency functions have to be strengthened to provide crisis intervention and diagnostic and treatment services to address the expectable crises and symptomatic expressions by parents and their children.

Finally, and quite importantly is the area of research. There are many State statutes which require revision so that recordkeeping and mandatory reporting of children of divorcing families can be put in place. Courts should be required to report various classes of decrees so that an understanding of changes in patterns could be arrived at by legislators and by people interested in public policy.

As suggested throughout this statement, there is an inadequate body of knowledge about the meaning of U.S. census data and the results of experiments in ameliorating the wrenching effects of family disruption on parents and children. Without considered studies, legislative efforts may prove to be misdirected, and funding not economically targeted at the critical nodal points in the overall problem of revising our national incohesive and fragmented family policy.

Thank you very much.

Senator DENTON. Thank you, Dr. Sacks.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Sacks and responses to questions follow:]

BROKEN FAMILY:
CAUSES AND SOCIETAL IMPLICATIONS

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FAMILY AND HUMAN SERVICES
OF

THE U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
SENATOR JEREMIAH DENTON, PRESIDING

10 A.M.
SEPTEMBER 22, 1983

STATEMENT OF:

HERBERT S. SACKS, M.D.
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ON BEHALF OF THE
AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee:

My name is Herbert Sacks, M.D. I am Clinical Professor of Psychiatry and Pediatrics at the Yale University School of Medicine. I am a member of the American Psychiatric Association's Council on Children, Adolescents and their Families and have served in the leadership of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry.

I am pleased today to have this opportunity to testify on behalf of the American Psychiatric Association, a medical specialty society representing over 28,000 psychiatrists nationwide, on the issue of causes and societal implications of broken families, an issue with which the Council on Children, Adolescents and their Families has grappled over the years. I would first like to place the issue in its appropriate historical perspective; review some statistical and demographic data; and then turn to causes; and finally some policy recommendations.

Following in the wake of World War II, there has been a ferment of unusually rapid and sweeping social change in America, much of it affecting the structure and functioning of marriage and family life. In recent decades, there has been a progressive disorganization of the American family, attributed in part to rising divorce rates, urbanization and scattering of the extended family, and the increase in numbers of working mothers. Understanding these broad societal issues enhances the medical competance of the psychiatrist, who must be alert to changed patterns in family life and their impact on mental health. In the history of child psychiatry, Dr. William Healy set up a pioneering clinic in Chicago in 1909 associated with the juvenile court, for the study of neurotic delinquents. This multidisciplinary undertaking began the first major studies of deviant behavior and family interaction. The child psychiatrist's consideration of family psychodynamics is central to investigating and treating the intrapsychic conflicts of disturbed children and adolescents. All psychiatrists are increasingly involved with families, especially since the introduction of techniques designed for marital and family therapy; almost all psychiatric patients have a family to be considered in its complexity as a locus of comfort and distress, as an amalgam of strength and vulnerability, indeed a reflection of the individuals who comprise the family.

Traditionally, a stable, loving, and mutually nurturing family unit has been viewed as an important social and psychological environment for sound emotional development of children and subsequent promotion of mental health in adulthood. Both conventional wisdom and years of clinical experience gained by psychiatrists in the treatment of the mentally disturbed uphold the validity of this view. However, scientific findings based on carefully controlled and quantified studies are not yet adequate to assert the complex and delicate nature of the relationships between the various forms of family disruption and discord and their long-range impact on the mental health of marital partners and of their children. More longitudinal research in this area is clearly needed, even though the many subtle variables that are involved make research difficult and findings are often limited in their generalizability.

Some of the leaders in the emerging research include the Center for the Family in Transition in California, the Child Trends Group, the University of Pennsylvania investigators led by Professor Furstenberg and Dr. Albert Solnit's Child Custody Group at the Yale University Child Study Center. The Council on Children, Adolescents and their Families of the American Psychiatric Association has sponsored a Task Force on Changing Family Patterns which is summarizing and interpreting within a limited scope major demographic trends in family formation and development to make for more effective policy planning and to help psychiatrists better meet their treatment and prevention responsibilities to patients and to the community. Some of the demographic data collected by the Task Force appears in this statement. Even before the research results will be fully available, we already have a considerable body of clinical experience to recommend statutory changes to safeguard the rights of children, enhance the collection of child support and to assure appropriate and considered visitation rights of the absent parent. Most importantly, our present body of knowledge urges the adoption of intervention programs for the reduction of the number of multiple risk families, for the provision of mediation and clinical services for families in distress and for community education.

Clinical observation and research effort demonstrate that there is a long history of cumulative marital difficulty before a divorce decision is taken. Often the decision is catalyzed by accidental traumatic events, unpredicted and unwanted. For the most part, this major life decision is not taken capriciously but is a consequence of chronic marital unhappiness expressed in frustration, loneliness, isolation, anger and depression. [illegible] Anger may culminate in physical abuse of spouse and/or children. Infidelity may occur after the intimate marital bonds have been severed through despair or chronic conflict leading to diminished self-esteem. Infidelity per se, then, is not a principal reason for divorce.

Circumstances underlying divorce are multiple and complex, and not adequately encompassed by statistical generalizations or reflected in statements of formal legal grounds. Compatibility and durability of marriage appear to be improved when couples are emotionally mature, have common realistic goals and expectations, and interests which are broadly shared or at least not in conflict.

Some selected demographic data with limited interpretation reflect the changes which have taken place with respect to marriage and divorce in the past several decades:

- o A number of factors seem to affect stability of a marriage. The U.S., with a population over 226 million, has 50 million married couples. Seventy-nine percent of these couples are in first marriages. A positive correlation appears to exist between educational level and marital stability. College graduates have the most stable marriages; among those with baccalaureate degrees who marry, and who are between 35 and 54 years of age, 85 percent are in first marriages. For high school graduates, the comparable figure is 80 percent; and, for persons who do not complete high school, it is 71 percent. Other data suggest a positive correlation between income level and other measures of personal success and marital stability.

- Although divorce rates in the past two decades have risen until 1980, marriages today are more durable and last longer due to increased longovity. Three-fourths of the nation's first marriages will last more than 20 years; half will survive 30 years; and one in five couples, married just once, can anticipate celebrating their 50th anniversary. The obverse side of these figures are the unhappy marriages that do not survive for the indicated periods.
- With the increased divorce rate in recent years, divorce has replaced death as the principal cause of marital dissolution. Between 1966 and 1976 the rate doubled to 5.0/1,000 population; between 1976 and 1979, the rate again rose slightly to 5.3. The National Center for Health Statistics recently reported that the 1980 divorce rate fell to 5.2/1,000 population, the first decline since 1961-1962. But in 1980 there were 1.89 million divorces, an all time high, involving over 2 million adults and 1.174 million children (half the U.S. divorces involve no children, the other half averages two per couple). Thus, at present divorce rates, each year three million persons will experience the stress of marital breakup.

The ways in which divorce rates are expressed affect our view of the current state of American society. An optimistic expression might be that since there are almost two million divorces a year out of 50 million married couples, the divorce rate is four percent. The usual media expression compares the number of marriages with the number of divorces in one year, thus "half of all marriages end in divorce." However, the vast majority of couples who marry in a given year are not the same ones who broke up in that year.

Of the couples who married in 1970, a period of very high annual divorce rates, 25 percent divorced within seven years. In contrast, of the couples who married in 1950, 25 percent divorced within 25 years of marriage. A concerning recent estimate by Andrew Cherlin suggests that if the annual divorce rates per 1,000 population are the same in this decade and in the 1990s as they were in 1977, 48 percent of those married in 1970 will eventually divorce.

The lifetime proportion of "ever divorced" people among those marrying in a given year have regularly risen during the past century, even as longevity has increased, hand-in-hand with extraordinary societal stresses and revolutionary changes. This simple observation demands a recasting of national family policy that addresses shifts in the American family. (At a later point in this statement, recommendations to alter our national policy on families will be summarized.)

- Americans are now marrying at a later age and the number of single women in their 20s has increased dramatically. On the average, in the 1980s women are marrying two years later than was the case 30 years ago. They are more likely to pursue a college degree and/or work prior to marriage. The trend toward postponement of marriage coincides with, but is not necessarily the cause of increases in premarital sex, use of contraceptives, abortion, and cohabitation. Since cohabitation has been widely discussed in the media, some observations of this phenomenon are in order. In 1980, of the 50 million couplehouseholds, 1.56 million were cohabiting (a marriage-like conjugal arrangement). Cohabitation tends to be a transitional rather than permanent status; most couples either marry or break up in time. In one recent study of 2,500 men under 30, almost 40 percent of those who cohabited for the first time married their partner. Most relevantly, there were no evidences that cohabitation influenced the success or failure of a subsequent marital relationship.

- Much less clear in terms of definition and demographic data are the adversive stressful effects arising from troubled families where divorce may not take place but where there is sustained discord, alcoholism or drug abuse, criminality, child neglect, or spouse or child abuse. There is clear evidence to support the conclusion that children subjected to abuse by parents are themselves more likely later to abuse their own children than are parents without such a history.
- Interracial and interreligious marriages are more vulnerable to divorce. A relevant economic factor in marital dissolution is low material assets in contradistinction to low income. The increasing employment of women outside of the home seems to be associated with an increased divorce rate, but as in some of these observations, there is no scientifically established causal relationship. A speculative statement on this issue alone could absorb a whole hearing day before this Subcommittee.

While there is evidence that mental disorder is more frequent in the divorced population than in the married, it cannot be concluded that this is necessarily the consequence of divorce. Successful marriage requires sustained adaptation in the behavior of both partners and considerable emotional maturity. In some cases marital discord and ultimately divorce arise from maladaptations stemming from unrecognized mental disorder.

The most common sequel to American divorce is remarriage, which constituted one-third of all marriages in 1977. The chances for remarriage of women improve if they are white, young, have few children and are not poor. But before the event of remarriage, the divorced family is especially at risk. Psychologically vulnerable, the parents experience guilt, anxiety, anger and depression. Social and economic problems ensue. The burden of family survival falls largely on one parent whose economic and psychological reserves are diminished and who does not have the supportive presence of another caring adult to cope with the expectable developmental changes in the children and their marked response to crises in daily living. Ninety percent of children of divorce have their mothers as the custodial parent. These women, struggling with complex psychosocial and economic issues tend to be withdrawn from their children, unavailable emotionally and physically. Judith Wallerstein's studies have shown that the average time to reestablish continuity and stability in the lives of these women was three to three and a half years. Given the years of skirmishing and "marital fire-fights" prior to divorce, child rearing capacities and functions are often limited, skewed and impaired during vital years of child development.

The cumulative effect on children of the psychologically drained custodial parent is often seen in their anger, depression and feeling uniquely wounded. The absent extended family and social supports in the community lead to an extraordinary sense of isolation of family members. This picture of commonly observed responses to family dissolution do not usually eventuate in mental illness, but nevertheless are severely distressing and functionally disabling and very often require clinical intervention for parents and children. Such interventions demand ancillary services which address myriad considerations including legal, financial, employment, retraining and child care resources. For families with depleted economic reserves, such resources are usually unaffordable even if minimally available in a community.

For children born in 1983, the chief of the Population division of the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates that 45 percent will experience their parents' divorce, 35 percent will experience their parents' remarriage and 20 percent will experience divorce within the remarriage. For children, the marital breakup has extremely disturbing and sustained emotional consequences frequently leading to an outbreak of symptomatic behavior requiring clinical intervention. The National Survey of Children reports that more than 30 percent of adolescents whose parents had separatd or divorced by the time they were seven years of age had received psychotherapy in adolescence. In contrast, only 10 percent of teen-agers in intact families received such treatment. Fifteen percent of teen-agers living with divorced single mothers had been suspended or expelled from school in late primary or secondary grades versus three percent of teen-agers from intact families.

Recent work has helped us to differentiate children who develop disturbances responsive to family stress from those who do not. Some of the assessable factors include the age and sex of the child, ongoing developmental issues and past resolutions, intensity and duration of the family conflicts, the emotional stability and restored nurturance of the custodial parent and most importantly, the child's capacity to sustain good relationships with both parents in reasonable and stable custody and visitation arrangements despite their residual anger towards one another. (Furstenberg's report in 1982 finds that 40 percent of children had no contact with their father over several years. Wallerstein's experience instructs that with a brief counseling program, less than 10 percent of fathers did not maintain contact with their children over a five year period.)

There is inconclusive data establishing a linkage between divorce in a child's life and to the later occurrence of mental illness. So often clinicians have treated children and adolescents who have been relieved by the divorce and the attendant overt battling, violence and "whacko" behavior of one or another parent. In the crisis they fantasize about their contributory role in the breakup and how early consciously experienced wishes were realized. They fear that they are being uncared for by parents with deep self-preoccupations who voice bitter convictions about a former loved spouse. Will the departing parent make it? Can he manage his job? The loss of family becomes an object of grief. In their isolation and exposure to untoward behavior of the two most significant figures in their lives, they often get into behavioral and learning difficulties in school, with peers and teachers as noted above. There is a considerable body of evidence that children from disrupted families are more likely than others to become delinquent. For several transitional years these chilren are at risk and require supports from grandparents, family friends, school counselors, clergy who have known the family and peers. They often require intermittent counseling.

Policy Planning and Policy Recommendations

Public agencies and private organizations must address a more realistic family policy given the expectation that during the years ahead divorce and remarriage will be part of the matrix of American life. The mental health needs of families in marital crisis with special attention to safeguarding the children who guarantee the survival of our society have been largely ignored and unserved. The unavailability of supports, resources and services in this day of the nuclear family makes for confusion, overpowering anxiety and pervasive feelings of hopelessness and helplessness for the children and their parents. The prevalence of divorce is a source of national concern that yields uncertain supportive action by friends and family who are discomforted often by issues which resonate unpleasantly in their own marriages. Moralistic residues, religious conviction and the Protestant ethic tend to support the impression in the body politic that the state should not intrude into family life by offering programatic solutions. So divorcing parents alone in sadness and embittered are compelled to develop financial planning and resolutions, visitation and custody arrangements, and to protect their children's growth and development at a point where they are bewildered and in disarray.

o Economic support by fathers. A majority of children of separated, divorced or never married mothers have no financial support from their fathers and never see them. The children suffer from emotional deprivation and often poverty. In 1979 only 43 percent of divorced women or separated women received payment and about half the fathers currently ignore court-ordered payments. Multiple recommendations have been made to change this egregious situation ranging from using the IRS to deduct payments from withholding taxes when single mothers have gone to the government for welfare help, to setting up a federally administered child support system.

o Counseling. State mandated counseling at the point of marital rupture, and for a period of time thereafter should address visitation and custody issues in order to avoid or reduce the psychological conflicts in children. Counseling should be allied with mediation services so as to avoid or mitigate the adversarial process which so often exacerbates angry parental attitudes towards each other and is damaging to the children.

- Reducing the number of multiple risk families. Strengthen vocational and remedial education, career path counseling, family planning education, clinical facilities and subsidized employment programs.
- Community child care support services. Establish and strengthen after-school care, and daycare services. Engage church facilities, family service agencies and child guidance centers to set up programs which provide nursery schools, recreational opportunities and social groupings.
- Mental Health facilities. Establish and strengthen child mental health, community mental health and family service agency functions to provide crisis intervention, diagnostic and treatment services to address the expectable crises and symptomatic expressions by parents and their children.
- Research. Various state statutes require revision so that recordkeeping and mandatory reporting of children of divorcing families can be put in place. Courts should be required to report various classes of decrees in a clear way which will permit an understanding of changes in patterns. As suggested throughout this statement, there is an inadequate body of knowledge about the meaning of U.S. Census data and the results of experiments in ameliorating the wrenching effects of family disruption on parents and children. Without considered studies, legislative efforts may prove to be misdirected and funding not economically targetted at the critical nodal points in the overall problem of revising currently incohesive and fragmented national family policy.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my testimony before your subcommittee. The American Psychiatric Association and I appreciate having the opportunity to discuss this timely and important subject and to provide you with our recommendations. I would be pleased to respond to any questions you or your colleagues may have.

Questions for Dr. Sacks Submitted by Senator Denton

1. In your testimony you cite inter-religious marriages as more vulnerable to divorce. Do you have any specific statistics or studies on which you can expand this statement? What do you consider to be the reasons?

2. You recommend governmental measures to ensure that fathers provide economic support for their children, after separation or divorce. The Congress has several proposals before it now for improving the child support system and I am interested in examining them further. My question to you is, how can stronger enforcement of child support by fathers be translated into more supportive, on-going relationships between fathers and children? Is there any psychological relationship between offering financial support and stronger emotional support?

3. You recommend "mandated counseling" by the State at the point of family dissolution. What mechanisms do you envision for this? I would also be interested in your experience in working with families who are forced by law, or otherwise, to use your psychiatric services. Can progress towards rebuilding these families be made?

4. I believe there is still some ambivalence in our society today as to where married women should draw the line between their devotion to career and the time they spend with their families. Is there a correlation at all in your mind between the role changes that have occurred between the sexes in recent years and the rising divorce rate?

Answers to Questions for Dr. Sacks Submitted by Senator Denton

1. The notion that inter-religious marriages are more vulnerable to divorce really derives from clinical experience in treating couples or individuals in a marriage which is in crisis. Such data has built-in limitations since marital crisis obviously enhances any pre-existent marital dissonance between the partners. Studies by Price-Bonham and Balswick in the J. of Marriage and the Family (1980) support the statement as well as a recent article by Norval Glenn in the same journal (44:3, August 1982) which aver slightly greater vulnerability to inter-religious marriages.

2. The enforcement of child support by fathers may address the denial of filial obligation by fathers who have hidden away geographically and emotionally. Rage at their former spouses often gets translated into hostility towards children who in fantasy may be seen by their fathers somewhat contributory to the marital dissolution. With the government enforcing child support in contradistinction to a former wife seeking relief from a court, the father may gain some distance from the perceived tainted connection between former spouse and his child and decide to learn more about the offspring he is supporting.

3. I would recommend reviewing the mechanisms used by the State of California in its different projects associated with mandated counselling. My experience with mandated therapeutic help derives from the juvenile justice system in Connecticut. Colleagues, along with myself, up to a decade ago rejected seeing youngsters and their families who were court-ordered to seek help as being poor therapeutic prospects. But we have learned that such referrals are often extremely valuable and function in the service of the whole family gaining insight as a consequence of a child's symptomatic anti-social act. I cannot but think that there is a useful if inexact parallel in mandated counselling for families who have moved towards dissolution of marriages. Pilot projects must be scrutinized carefully and the California experience is the place to start.

4. The role change of married women in pursuing careers must be lightly examined before attempting to correlate them with a rising divorce rate. For most women the surface motivation for career pursuit is economic. Below the surface there are valiant attempts at self-definition, an attempt to increase their self-estrem, to make good use of advanced educations for women of the middle classes in order to spring free of the dullness of home-making and the prospect of limited personal growth and development. For so many trained women, career path pursuit is correlated with increased independence and autonomy. We endure in a society which considers child rearing to be menial work. We underpay limited and often emotionally deprived people to care for our children. We don't support early childhood education research and ignore the rich lode of findings in child development accrued in the past 50 years. Thus mothering in all of its complexity and subtlety is not often perceived as a challenging and fulfilling task. Since we cannot legislate working career women back to the nursery and the kitchen, we must find ways of emphasizing the worth of child rearing during those early years. We must find more creative ways of encouraging institutions and organizations to calculatedly avoid penalizing talented women who work part-time, take prolonged maternity leaves or who split jobs with husbands.

Answers to Questions for Panel I

1. Miss Decter's thesis of the failure of parents to give their children an adequate moral framework is understandable given the chaotic nature of the world we live in. The drumbeat of major global crises have convinced any number of thoughtful youngsters and older folks that we are truly faced by the prospect of Armageddon. There is a "sickness unto death" in our American society which has found expression through denial of the facts of the nuclear age. Arms control issues, nuclear proliferation and the flagrant failure of the church to assume leadership for social justice as a testimony to faith preoccupy families at every level of education, subjects especially available for study during times of national and world crisis. A moral framework at a time of abandonment of the rule of law, of government leaders once so respected by our people caught in deliberate misinformation and lying, all in the national interest, of widespread tax cheating, of rank poverty and starvation in this great land of plenty - these and so many more paradoxes available to our children can skew any honest parent's attempts to imbue their offspring with uplifted standards and lofty values.

2. There is a misreading by US News and World Report of the recent demographics. Educational level and income combined with longevity are indeed making for longer marriages. For the first time we are seeing a decline in divorce rates. The most hopeful aspect of the magazine article is that it is premised on the proposition that we will have a viable society fifty years hence!

3. I am more concerned as to how the disorder in our civilization contributes to the climate of anxiety and hopelessness in our families.

4. Institutional child care services have been brilliantly written about by noted scholars such as Sally Provence at Yale and Bruno Betelheim in his studies of children of the kibbutz in Israel. The success of institutional care is dependent on the education, training and staffing patterns of the child care professionals, the age of entry of the child into such settings, the proximity of the parents, the specific needs of parent and child, the character of the physical plant and the research undertaken.

5. I am not equipped nor trained to evaluate the Public Opinion provocative piece. I would suggest that you seek the views of experts such as Professor Gerber of the University of Pennsylvania or Professors Jerome and Dorothy Singer at Yale who have studied television issues throughout their professional careers. The plight of the American family will not be illuminated by such think-pieces as this one in Public Opinion which is less concerned with the dynamics of change in our family members than in grinding a social/political axe.

Senator Denton. In view of the number of recommendations you made, Dr. Sacks, regarding governmental participation, if you will, in the problem, I should note that our next hearing on October 4 will deal with that specific subject.

We will take your suggestions under consideration at that time, and invite you, as well as the others, to submit any other ideas you have along those lines.

In view of Senator Hatch's continued presence and the knowledge that he has other commitments, I will invite you, Senator Hatch, to begin the questioning.

Senator Hatch. Thank you, Senator, Mr. Chairman.

You all discussed problems faced by the American family, and while more mothers are falling into poverty, as cited by the statistics presented today, what area—and I would like to have each of you respond to this in a brief manner, if you can—what are of single public policy would you recommend that we need to further, or that we need to have further review on, by the Labor and Human Resources Committee—if you had your choice, what would you recommend that we do, to review and/or implement?

We will start with you, Dr. Sacks, and go left to right.

Dr. Sacks. Well, I would prefer to defer to my colleagues here, and have a chance to think about my response.

The Chairman. OK. Dr. Thornton?

Dr. Thornton. I had the same response as my colleague.

Senator Hatch. OK. Dr. Carlson?

Dr. Carlson. Let me be brave—perhaps overly bold—here. Not knowing the full purview of the committee's responsibilities, let me suggest two very broad areas of public policy, one of which I am fairly certain is not in your area, but one which may be.

I think the historical record suggests that there is something positive Government can do. First would be in the area of housing policy. I think there is some evidence to suggest that the housing policy adopted by the Federal Government in the late forties and fiftie—specifically, the subsidization of mortgage rates through VA and FHA programs, and certain other mechanisms tied into that—did have a positive benefit in terms of encouraging the formation of families. And, while I certainly do not know the nuances of contemporary housing policy, I think there are, in general, policies which, in the limits of fairness to the whole population, encourage home ownership, and which will work to the general good.

Second, in tax policy, which I realize is not this committee's area, I suggest taking a very careful look at the history of the personal deduction. It has eroded significantly since 1948. The personal income tax deduction is now worth approximately one-fifth of its real value that it held in 1948.

More importantly, since 1960 there has been a demonstrable shift of the tax burden from essentially unmarried and childless people to families with children. The average tax rate, for example, on single persons and married persons without children is essentially unchanged from 1960. However, by 1984, under current law, the average tax rate of a married couple with four children will have increased by 223 percent since 1960. There are complex reasons for why this has happened, but I do believe it is something that the Senate should look at and consider its implications.

Senator HATCH. Thank you. That is very helpful.

Miss Decter?

Miss DECTER. Well, I note with certain amusement that, when asked what you should actually do, we all kind of fumbled because I think that is particularly because we sense that we are up against a problem that cannot truly be legislated.

I would think that the most concrete piece of policy that I can think of is in the area of taxation. I would like to associate myself with what Dr. Carlson said. It is more than a matter of equity. It is, as I said in my statement, a matter of the public authorities being willing. At this point, the families are discriminated against in tax policy. It seems to me that such things as taxation and housing policy are areas in which the Government can discriminate for. And while we were cautioned, wisely, earlier this morning not to attempt policies that romantically hearken back to some wonderful age long ago that probably did not exist, and to base our policies on a recognition that a lot of the conditions that are militating against the family are here to stay. I do think that it is time for us as a community, as a legislature, as the voice of community standards, to attempt to take up the issue of pornography, of child sexual abuse, of that whole area which I think popularly goes by the name of "the social issue."

I do not pretend to know how one can legislate these things, constitutionally.

Senator HATCH. Of course, we have the constant comment here that we must talk about economic issues, because they are much more important than social issues. You are indicating that maybe some of these social issues are extremely important.

Miss DECTER. I think they are far more important than economic issues in some sense, because people are not only economic animals, and not even primarily economic animals, and I think even the economic issues themselves are far more important for what they signify about the attitudes that lie behind them than for the specific measures. And as I say, I do not pretend to know how a legislature can deal with social issues. Some of them are beyond legislation.

Senator HATCH. Maybe it is getting rid of legislation that does deal with them wrongfully.

Miss DECTER. Yes, I think that is true.

Senator HATCH. You see, there are two ways of legislating. One is to enact more laws; another way is to correct those laws that are not working very well on the books. And there are a lot of laws on the books that literally are defeating the family interests in this country.

Miss DECTER. Well, I do know that we have come to the point when it becomes a very, very touchy constitutional—complex constitutional question—about whether or not we may incarcerate people who round up, kidnap, if you will, groups of small children to use for pornographic and prostitution purposes, that we are a society in a deep moral muddle, and I don't think that we are actually in a moral muddle. I think deep down, everybody has exactly the same response. I do not think we are so bad off that people do not deep down know what is morality in this case. But we have had our brains friend in the last 25 years, so that simple propositions can no longer be uttered——

Senator **Hatch**. Simple moral propositions?

Miss **Decter**. Simple moral propositions—like incest is still a social crime. We cannot even say things like that anymore. One reads a respectable magazine—not very many years ago, there was an article in a very respectable magazine, taking up the question of incest, in which it was debated with a number of experts as to whether incest really was good for you or bad for you, whether it did in fact, in some cases, improve family relations. That is dementia. And I think that all of us, including Members of the Senate and the Congress, have at least to begin to make very strong articulations about these questions.

Senator **Hatch**. Thank you.

Are there any other comments?

Yes, Dr. Sacks?

Dr. **Sacks**. These questions touch upon a broad philosophic issue in the way we regard the functions of Government. They have to do with the matter of the State asserting its right to invade the realm of the family. We have seen, for instance, in 1974, the passage of legislation which deinstitutionalized status offenders. Status offenders, as you recall, are a group of youngsters under the age of 16 who are deemed truants or unruly or ungovernable, guilty of alleged immoral activities—always girls—and runaways. That deinstitutionalization occurred with the Congress sugaring the bait by providing various kinds of supportive programs in the States which eliminated the status offender category in their statutes. Those in favor of deinstitutionalization states saw it as an opportunity for the family to reassert its rights and to move the juvenile court jurisdiction away from the governance of children. We have had parallel problems in our thinking about the whole question of abortion in the balance between the possible assertion the State's interest and the integrity of the family sanctity.

It strikes me that in the context of our concerns about women who are alone, bereft, with children, incapable of getting economic support from fathers, looking to community child care services which are nonexistent, seeking vocational and remedial educational plans which are inadequate, and searching for subsidized employment which they cannot locate, that we reach a critical level in our thinking where Government must assume some measure of responsibility, because the private sector and municipalities and the States do not have the means to do it.

So, while there is a part of me that is in favor of the deregulation, the rescinding of bad and ineffective laws affecting children and adults, there is another part of me that recognizes that in the pursuit of happiness, we have a major obligation to look at the most aggrieved group in our population today.

Senator **Hatch**. Dr. Thornton?

Dr. **Thornton**. My own area of work and what I consider to be areas of expertise involve primarily areas of causes and consequences of family change. I will make a quick disclaimer of being an expert in the public policy arena. But it seems to me, in the light of the kind of background that I tried to provide this committee, that the family changes that we have observed have had their roots way back into the early 19th century—that there are many basic, fundamental things about family life that are not going to be changed very easily. As we try to figure out which ones we can change and how we ought to go about changing them, we ought to work very, very hard in coming up with areas where we can get considerable consensus among all different groups of our society.

It seems to me that the primary area where we might be able to get consensus is in the area of how we deal with our children. It seems to me that all of us, with very, very few exceptions, are very concerned about how we raise our children, and I think we have a fair amount of agreement that we ought to provide our children the best possible opportunities and situations that are possible. And it also seems to me that, with a fair amount of searching, we could probably come up with public programs and policies—or eliminate harmful public programs and policies—that will aid each of us—no matter what our circumstances are, no matter what our marital histories are, no matter how we happen to be living—to raise our children in a more wholesome way. I think that could be an area of very real impact that the public arena could have.

Senator **Hatch**. Well, thank you.

Senator **Denton**. Thank you, Senator Hatch.

The chairman of the full committee has not been able to attend other subcommittee hearings—and most of them are held solo by the individual chairmen of the subcommittees, because each of us have other subcommittees we chair or committees, as in the case of Senator Hatch. I want to note that the hearings we have had so far on the topic of family breakdown—and these are in my opening statement—dealt with the effects on children, No. 1 and then we had one on the effects on adults, and this one is supposed to be relating to its causes and social implications.

The last in the presently planned series will deal with the role of government in the problem—in other words, the solutions which we have been jumping at at this hearing. And since we want to touch on some of those solution, the remarks are not at all inopportune, but I must remark that the next hearing is exclusively on that subject. I would want to remark to Dr. Thornton that if there is one thing that any Senator is aware of, it is that we must have consensus before we can pass any laws. I was successful in getting one major act through the full committee, and every Senator voted for it, and indeed enacted into law in spite of its having been lampooned in television by all three networks, in every major metropolitan newspaper in the United States, and in a full Sunday cartoon devoted to its lampooning by Doonsbury. That was something called the Adolescent Family Life Act, which undertook to do some of the milder things that Dr. Sacks recommended respecting involving the family, the churches, and so forth, in some of the previously introduced governmental intervention, if you will, into this problem. So my role thus far has been limited in terms of output, if you wish to know, to correcting what the Government is already into in the way of intervention. I am not an interventionist, but to the degree that we have involved ourselves, I have had to ask the question, has that involvement been positive or negative in terms of its effect on family life, happiness, if you will—and I have found in some cases that there is difficulty.

I agree with both Dr. Carlson and Miss Decter regarding tax policy, and the responsibilities of Government with respect to porn, child sexual abuse, and so forth. Those are not necessarily within the purview of this committee. But if the findings of this committee can show the scale, degree, and nature of this problem, and the effect, for example, of pornography, and the scale in terms of the degradation of our standards, descending to the degree of sexual abuse which results in such institutions as Covenant House in New York being very overcrowded and so on—then perhaps we can present those findings to other committees which do have jurisdiction. For example, the jurisdiction over the Federal Communications Commission could look at findings on the media.

With reference to that, I have a letter here which I would like to place in the record at this point. Charlton Heston, who was invited to come and wanted very much to come, submitted this letter. I would like to mention that Morton Kondracke—and I hope he is not scandalized by this reference—the executive editor of the New Republic, he is considered relatively liberal. I want to express my hope and even resolve to depoliticize this issue of trying to treat the malaise of the institution of family in the United States, defuse it as a Republican, Democratic, or conservative, liberal, black, white, or man/woman-type issue.

The battle of the sexes exists to a degree. There is a polarization regarding those women who have become, if you will, feminists by virtue of being victimized by what may well be a chauvinism manifest in the flaunting way in which Playboy allegedly presented the male's right to play the field, while the female suffers and becomes a toy. Some of those women have become hurt, understandably indignant, and in many cases, are deplored by those in the so-called pro-family grouping. I consider that there is a possibility, that there may be a commonality, a consensus, if you will, which can be developed among those ladies with respect to such subjects as pornography and so forth. So I really deal rather humbly with this subject and extremely carefully with it, and I try to be as considerate as possible with respect to the gathering of testimony and what we do.

Here is Charlton Heston's letter, and I will read it because I think that in addition to the value it will represent in the record, it is relevant enough to the people who were kind enough to come today to hear. It is addressed to me:

> Dear SENATOR, The family is the basic unit of any society, the molecule of social structure. The rise and fall of civilizations can be traced in terms of the health and security of the family and its function and balance.

Pardon me. I forgot to state that Morton Kondracke suggested in a recent article that his views had changed very much since he was a young liberal with very young children and now that he is an old liberal with adolescent children, his views have changed considerably with respect to what he thought the significance of this problem was and what the proper role and degree of concern of Government was. Other liberal writers have stated that and similar opinions. I am trying to form, to the degree possible, a sincere alliance with them so that we can bridge the political gap. I neglected to say that.

Now, this is Charlton Heston's letter continued:

> It was not idle coincidence that Roman civilization began to decay as the family lost meaning under the last of the 12 Caesars. Among the cancers eating inside the police states of the Twentieth Century in Germany, China, and the Soviet Union has been the recruitment of the family within those societies as self-policing units.
>
> By these standards, the Western democracies are not in the best of health. "The nuclear family," a largely meaningless term, has become a catch phrase, signalling a faltering function of the family in our time. The low regard accorded state, school, and church can well be claimed to stem from the fraying fabric of the family. Among the burdens borne by American blacks, we are told, is the number of single female parent families among them.
>
> This is in part a condition created by social attitudes regarding the family. "Traditional family values" in quotes, have little weight nowadays. As always, the arts have a function in this. The most popular of these, film and television, carry a large responsibility in terms of declining respect for stable marriage, parental responsibility, personal responsibility, and other such attributes of family life.
>
> While a free society cannot instruct the artist in his work, American film-makers would do well to assume some personal responsibility in asserting the vital function of the family in our society.
>
> Charlton Heston.

Senator DENTON. Most of us associate Charlton Heston with his role as Moses in "The Ten Commandments," but I wish to draw a parallel between Chuck's remark, if you will, and another remark by Morton Kondracke at the end of the article to which I previously referred. He rather jocularly suggested that among the do-good things that the present administration could do, Ronald Reagan, our President, might well instruct or advise his Hollywood friends to stop oversexing America. I mention that as perhaps a bridge between the relatively conservative Charlton Heston and the relatively liberal Morton Kondracke.

I would not personally characterize the result of Hollywoodism as oversexing America—perverting, perhaps, but I do not believe that the true enjoyment, or the maximal enjoyment, in our society of sex is necessarily increased by what Hollywood has done. Pervert, maybe; mischaracterize maybe in that sex in the movies is generally portrayed as happily occurring only outside of marriage. To find a G-rated movie, you have to see something like Bambi.

"Superman II" had Lois Lane and Superman engaged in fornication in this super, altar-like bed on the planet of Crypton. That was seen—and I love Eunice Shriver—by the little people who were participants in the special Olympics. We went from the Vice President's home over to that movie. If I am a prude, because I have reservations about that big lesson, then I am a prude, but I had a problem with it.

I have a problem with a good many cultural changes. I want to admit my own bias as I open my questions, because the changes that occurred in our society between the time of my incarceration in Vietnam in July 1965 and my return in February 1973 did put me in the position of sort of a Rip Van Winkle, and the cultural shock that I obtained by having suddenly seen the existence of X-rated movies, massage parlors, the new literature on our newstands, the degree to which our publishing industry had resorted to and favored books and magazines which were decidedly different from those I had seen before, and before, would be characterized with maybe "Gone With the Wind" being the most daring movie I had seen before that time. I remember the biggest titillation at age 14 or 15, with my then girlfriend. I was not old enough to drive, so my grandmother drove us over to New Orleans, and we watched the premiere of "Gone With the Wind." I will never forget the giggles and the extreme thrill that went through the audience when Rhett Butler/Clark Gable, said: "Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn."

That was about it. And then, I came back to what we more or less have now, and as an average Alabama boy—average American, if you will—I was shocked. I am still shocked. I believe that many of the changes which took place while I was gone represented steps in the march of civilization. I believe many other steps we have taken represent retrogression in that respect. And I do not presume to be able to distinguish one from the other, but that is why I am trying to conduct these hearings, in, I hope, a fair fashion.

Dr. Sacks in his testimony states that there is no evidence to suggest that cohabitation reduces the likelihood of success of a subsequent marriage. We raised this question, Dr. Sacks, at a previous hearing of the subcommittee, and we did try to have some balance, that is, liberal to conservative, in it, and the panel unanimously agreed that a permissive attitude toward sex before marriage leads to difficulties in controlling sexual impulses after marriage.

In your statement, you indicate that your statistics from a 2,500-person survey indicate certain things. I will let you have a chance to respond to anything the others might say, but I would ask the opinions of the rest of the members of this panel, since I have heard testimony to the contrary, on whether you believe sexual permissiveness, say, cohabitation, which was the state mentioned by Dr. Sacks, improves or degrades the likelihood of success of a future marriage.

Does anyone care to comment on that? I know you really have to depart from the statistical base to do that.

Miss **Decter**. In my experience, cohabitation frequently leads to marriage in order that there can be a divorce, because it is very difficult for a cohabiting couple to figure how to break up until they get married.

But I think the source of the damage here does not come simply from something as general as the term, "cohabitation." It seems to me that there is a pattern, the pattern of dating and sexual relations, among very, very young, early adolescents, is far more the source of the difficulty. If you see very young kids who are having love affairs, what happens is that there is a kind of terrible caricature, burlesque, little marriage going on. There is a demand for monogamy, age 12, and then you find these children having a series of absolutely demanding monogamous relations, and so that by the time, say, a young woman or a young man reaches the university, they have already been in three or four distorted caricature marriages, and the sense of relation, there has been absolutely no opportunity for that kind of—leaving aside the issue of morality—there has been no opportunity for them really to grow and develop, because they are thrown into the terms of sex life, at an age when they do not even know how to get from here to the corner. And I think there is a tremendous amount of human distortion that results, so that by the time people reach marriage age, they are not the least bit grown up. They have not even gone through any of the giggles of going to see "Gone With the Wind." They know everything, and they know nothing, and they have not had the time to ripen, to age, and grow up, or to battle with one another, or to learn how to be friends with one another, or to learn how to talk to one another, or any of the things that it is so difficult for males and females to do in this world, and that presumably, adolescence would be the time when they would have the opportunity to begin to learn. And one sees a kind of deadness, ennui, boredom, indifference, which is partly sexual and partly psychological, which happens with these young people by the time they get married, of which cohabitation, sharing an apartment together for 3 years or something, and pretending you are not married, if you do that, and then going through the sacrament of marriage, is only the final step in a long process of deadening—is the only word I can think of.

Senator **Denton**. I guess that relates to what I meant about the oversexing as far as Hollywood is concerned, oversexing over one's whole lifetime and the whole spectrum of one's activities. I believe that it does result in a minimization of the joy and life that is otherwise possible.

Miss **Decter**. It had made it unimportant. It has made it weightless, unimportant, and frequently very boring.

Senator **Denton**. While we are commenting on that, Dr. Sacks also said—and I am not picking on you, Dr. Sacks——

Dr. **Sacks**. May I respond to the first discussion?

Senator **Denton**. Sure, and you said infidelity, per se, is not a principal reason for divorce. I understand the rationale but again that might be a chicken-and-egg thing, because you say, "Infidelity may occur after the intimate marital bonds have been severed through despair or chronic conflict, leading to diminished self-esteem." I suppose that infidelity could, though, per se lead to some friction without having gotten to the despair or chronic conflict stage. And in previous hearings, although that has not been the thrust of them, there was some indication, some very emotional indications, particularly by one lady whom I will never forget, who admitted that though, in her reasons for divorce, she never cited infidelity, it was the biggest thing she felt and what hurt her the most and caused her to seek divorce.

But of course, Dr. Sacks, go ahead.

Dr. **Sacks**. I want to return to the comments about cohabitation. First, I have to address Miss Decter. I have been an admirer of her writings, and a steady reader of Commentary magazine. At this point, we have to part company. Her evaluation of tender, small marriages between immature people ultimately leading to cohabitation is like suggesting that the occasional use of marihuana by a Senate staff member will lead to heroin addiction. She makes a big jump, without looking at the dynamic issues involved in young people and in the cohabiters that we are alluding to here.

The issues with young people, I would couch in perhaps different terms. Most of those relationships are frightened, dependent relationships in families which are in a state of turmoil. These youngsters and adolescents are struggling desperately to achieve some kind of identity, and they are thrust at each other to avoid the more difficult involvements with peers, which require exchange and tenderness, mutuality, sensitivity to other people's feelings. Thus, many of them leap into "the small marriages" given the freedoms in our society, which can be psychologically dangerous and disabling, because the youngsters are not equipped to handle the stimulation and the excitement and the burden of having a relationship with someone. And those are inevitably doomed to failure and unfortunately, occasionally, pregnancy.

Senator **Denton**. That is a problem, we have dealt with through our subcommittee, has our oversight on the problem of adolescent pregnancy has presented us with such facts as that today, 97 percent of the children born out of wedlock, often to very young girls, are kept by the mother. I would have to deduce that this brings somewhat unfavorable influence on her prospects for a happy marriage, not to say the wretchedness which might and often does occur to the child along the way, and I guess that is a pretty big deal.

Dr. **Sacks**. But one also has to look at the way adolescents view sexuality. The notions that are shared by most of the people in this room over the age of 40, about sexuality, derive from their own personal life experience, attest to sexuality as a culmination of an important relationship, for people who have waited, who have gotten to know each other, who have shared intimate experiences, who care about each other in physical ways and nonphysical ways having reached an advanced level of maturity. For excited adolescents "unfinished adults" if you will, the surging impulses associated with major physiological changes exacerbate unresolved conflicts within themselves and with parents and other authoritative figures. Searching for temporary peace, clutching at one another, they express their need for dependency and succor through the discharge of their sexual arousal. The reduction of sexual tension through what they call fooling around leads to "a small death," the emptiness and the dark depression on which follows the act. Quite different, is it not from the meaning of mature adult sexuality.

Senator **Denton**. I do not want to cut this off Dr. Sacks, but truly, we have spent so much time on this question, I wish I had not asked it. There are a thousand questions we can dwell on, and I think you and Miss Decter have had proportionate time to respond.

May I ask if Dr. Thornton or Dr. Carlson have anything, I hope, brief, to say on the subject of the effect, or relative effect of either cohabitation or infidelity in marriage on the probability that a marriage will stay together once formed?

Dr. **Thornton**. I have no real comment on that. It is a subject that one can imagine being able to research fairly well. However, unless there are some studies that have been done that I am not aware of, which there may have been, I do not think we have had any really good studies of these particular issues to answer the question that you want answered.

Senator **Denton**. From what I have seen, that is probably true. The kinds of studies that have been undertaken do not contain a plethora of information on that.

I am forming and have formed a Caucus on the Family within the Senate, because as you can see, there are not a lot of Senators here. We will have the caucus meetings with no legislative authority among 31 Senators. I am the chairman; Senator DeConcini is the cochairman, and hopefully, we will raise the level of consciousness of the Senators in meetings aside from regular political meetings, in which we tend to be polarized.

How about you, Dr. Carlson?

Dr. **Carlson**. Just briefly, within the historic Judeo-Christian, Western tradition, the ideal, of course, is the linkage of sexuality to marriage. This played a major role in supporting the sanctity or the status which the marriage vow claimed within the social order. I think the separation of sexuality from marriage has played a major role in the devaluation of marriage in our culture and in its tendency to be considered little more than another contract, simply a contract between two people for a while to share their resources and then move on to something else after that.

So I do think there is a link.

Senator **Denton**. In view of the time and the immensity of the testimony which we could draw out in questions to this panel, I will have to choose to end our discussions with this panel, at least in the oral sense. Your opening statements were extremely valuable.

I will be submitting written questions to the four of you, and if you will, I would greatly appreciate your answers within 10 days or so.

Some of the subjects we will be addressing will be drawing out from you your expressions regarding where married women should draw the line between outside employment and home life. I have no feeling of certainty regarding sorting all of that out. It has to do with the rising career emphasis among women and the possible relationship of the rising number of divorces. In no way do I want to insinuate that I think that there is, definitely, a relationship there, nor do I resent or regret the fact that women have joined the work force in such great numbers. They have done so with great success, and as has been pointed out in my opening statement and by others, they traditionally shared in work more or less within the framework of the family, and now it is not. That has been pointed out.

But let me thank the four of you sincerely and ask that you answer these questions later, because in order to proceed, to progress—and I believe we must—we are going to need substantiated findings.

I want to thank the four of you very much.

Our second panel of witnesses is composed primarily of experts—if that word is proper—from various religious communities. They will discuss attributes of their religions that lead to family strength, as well as comment from their perspectives about what they perceive to be the basic causes of the problem.

We had invited Rabbi Michelman of the American Synagogue Council to be here with us today, but unfortunately, although he wished to attend, this is the Feast of Tabernacles, and we could not change the date; we could not get a hearing room. His statement will be included in the record.

Our first witness, Dr. Richard Lindsay, is the director of public communications and special affairs for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. While our committee chairman has already made remarks about Dr. Lindsay, I as a person would like to express my admiration for Dr. Lindsay, my association and admiration for the man, out in Salt Lake City, with whom I have consulted many times at the top of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

We also have Mr. Dennis Rainey, a family counselor and the national director of family ministries; we have Father Steven Preister, the director of the National Center for Family Studies at Catholic University, and Dr. Herbert Ratner, the editor of Child and Family Quarterly.

I would ask Dr. Lindsay if he would begin with any opening statement he cares to make.

STATEMENT OF DR. RICHARD P. LINDSAY, DIRECTOR, PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS AND SPECIAL AFFAIRS, CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS; DENNIS RAINEY, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, FAMILY MINISTRIES OF CAMPUS CRUSADE FOR CHRIST; DR. STEVEN L. PREISTER, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CENTER FOR FAMILY STUDIES, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, AND DR. HERBERT RATNER, EDITOR, CHILD AND FAMILY QUARTERLY, A PANEL

Dr. LINDSAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Denton.

I think in the interest of time, it might be well if I abbreviated some of my prepared remarks. I would like to just observe, based on the earlier discussion, that it is clear to all of us here that many of the problems that this committee is struggling with probably transcend the area of public policy considerations. But I would like to say that it is a healthy and refreshing effort on the part of this Senate committee to look at something as fundamental to our society as the status of the family, and we applaud that.

The concern of public policies upon the American family and the expressed interest of this committee in the social, economic, and moral aspects of American family life are indeed heartening and refreshing.

Political and social planning in a wise social order begin with the axiom: What strengthens the family strengthens society. The family is the seedbed of economic skills, of money habits, of attitudes toward work, and the arts of financial independence. The family is a stronger agency of educational success than the school. The family is a stronger teacher of religious values than the church. If things go well with the family, life is worth living; when the family falters, life often falls apart.

The role of a father, a mother, and of children who respect them is the critical center of social force. As we are given to quote within our own faith, "No success in life can compensate for failure in the home."

Much of contemporary wisdom—and I would just say parenthetically, this is given great support by the media, what we see and what we read and what we are exposed to by the electronic media—tells us that one who puts another's needs and desires ahead of his own, that he is foolish. But Saint Paul reminds us, "God chose the foolish things of the world to shame the wise."

Even the father who expends time, money, and energy on children when he could be living much more luxuriously or imaginatively, is often considered foolish in this world. How much more must the woman who chooses to forgo many of her own pleasures and to live, for a number of years, at least, almost exclusively for others, consider herself foolish, unless her basic human impulses, which tell her that her conduct is right and good, are effectively reinforced.

In my view, Government, the media, churches, and other groups which influence our societal norms should provide such encouragement and support for this ethic if the moral foundations of our Nation are to prevail.

There is not one family pattern in America; there are many. I am a product of a single-parent home. My father died when I was 5 and was a member of a large family of children during the Depression. And I recognize that there are not always ideal family patterns. All are alike in this, however: They provide such civilization as exists in these United States with nurturing, grace, and hope, and they suffer greatly under the attacks of both the media, often the economic system, and often from well-intentioned public programs.

Aggressive sentiments against marriage are often expressed today in the name of freedom and openness and serious commitment to a career. Marriage is often pictured as a form of imprisonment, oppression, boredom, and chafing hindrance. These accusations are not entirely wrong. While marriage does indeed impose humbling and often frustrating responsibilities, these challenges are precisely the preconditions for true liberation. Marriage is not the enemy of moral development in adults—it is just the opposite.

There has been considerable reference here to the status of the deterioration of families. I will not dwell long on this, except to just point out one, very recent statistic which is contained in the September 1983 edition of American Demographics, wherein Arthur J. Norton, the Assistant Chief of Population Division of the Census Bureau, says that fully 59 percent of children born in 1983 will live with only one parent before they reach the age of 18.

Recently, one of the country's most respect sociologists, Dr. Amitai Etzioni of Columbia University, warned that, "If we continue to dismember the American family at the present rate, we shall run out of families before we run out of oil." Etzioni further underscored the dramatic deterioration of the American family in recent years in the following statement: "If the number of married couples decreases at the accelerating rate it has over the past few years, the result will be no husband/wife families by the year 2008." Although Dr. Etzioni surely does not seriously believe that there will be no married couples in America by the turn of the century, to any thoughtful contemporary observer, the tearing at the fabric of family life and the relationship of family members are self-evident.

Experts differ somewhat concerning the effects of divorce, although most concur the psychological impacts are generally adverse to children, as Dr. Sacks has testified here this morning. A negative effect on their economic well-being is almost inevitable. Before divorce, two parents and their children share one household, benefiting from economies of scale and from cooperative endeavors of the partnership. After the divorce, there are typically two households to maintain, the economies of scale are lost, and cooperative effort is more difficult, if not impossible.

Moreoever, in most cases, fathers provide little or no child support when the mother has custody. I know that from some personal experience; for years, I directed the State social services agencies in my home State, and realized the relative low degree of support provided by fathers with a legal obligation of support, and where we have built up massive bureaucracies to try and enforce such duties of support.

Many divorced mothers must work full time to support their children, and others depend partly or totally on Government subsidy. Even so, more than 50 percent of the children in families headed by a female live in poverty, compared with only 8 percent in husband/wife families.

Existing and proposed public policies should be analyzed in terms of their impact upon families. That, I take to be the purpose of this committee, and it is laudable.

Public policy should respect the sanctity of family life and of all human life. Many tax policies and welfare laws such that the requirement that a father must leave home for his family to receive assistance should be carefully reviewed. Tax dollars sent to make sex counseling and prescription birth control drugs and devices available to minor children without cost and without the knowledge of parents violates the principle of parental responsibility for minor children. Our own State has enacted a piece of legislation which is called the notification of parents in such cases, and it has had very tough going in the courts. Millions of parents would deeply resent the violation of their right to know what is said and given to their minor children through Government-supported entities. Since the Federal Government became involved in funding, these family planning and contraceptive programs, most researchers agree, have become more serious, and the programs that they have sought to deter have become much worse:

Teenage pregnancy rates have continued to rise, and the rate of teenage abortion has skyrocketed.

Increasing millions, as we understand the data, are victims of and exposed to venereal disease.

Increasing numbers of illegitimate children are handicapped in their early lives as unwed mothers face the difficult task of raising their children alone.

Public expenditures continue to escalate as increasing numbers of single mothers join the welfare ranks and we witness the increasing feminization of poverty in this country.

This feminization of poverty is not a future problem; it is a present, painful reality. Families headed by single females comprise the fastest growing segment of the poverty population.

It is a national disaster that in some cities of our country, abortions outnumber live births, and in some instances, illegitimate births outnumber children born to parents bonded in marriage.

We recognize that such tragic data reflect a deeper problem of moral deterioration in our land. Government policies, however, should not aid and abet with taxpayers' dollars those programs which adversely affect the emotional and physical health of children, the values of families, and the rights and duties of parents.

In the Old Testament of the King James Bible, there are 23,214 verses, and in the very last two of these verses, the prophet Malachi seems to speak to this generation. He says:

> Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.

Finally, while public policy and legislation in support of families are critical, may be humbly suggest the need for strong, personal leadership of this distinguished body by your own example, speaking collectively to the Senate of this United States in this matter. A U.S. Senator's personal support of his or her own family and within the spheres of his or her own personal influence will have a far-reaching effect. Public officials will be most effective when they lead by example. And your personal experience, Senator Denton, I would like to just personally commend you for the quality of your own family life, that you returned from 8 years of imprisonment and found your family intact. That is a great tribute to you and to this body.

Senator DENTON. It is a much greater tribute to my wife.

Dr. LINDSAY. I am sure.

It is deplorable that a great Nation like ours has watched marriages collapse on a scale quite unprecedented, and stood by with apparent indifference. Marriages and families in this country are going through a period of turbulent change and upheaval. Millions of men and women are going hopefully into marriage, struggling to succeed, giving up, getting divorced, parceling out their children, marrying again, some succeeding the second time around, but more failing again. Amid this scene of chaos and confusion, our national leadership in the main looks on indifferently, detached, and usually uninvolved.

The efforts of this committee appear to be a much-appreciated exception to the rule. If our national leaders would speak out, the climate of public opinion could change quickly. There is no need to denounce anyone, just to recognize that our family life is perhaps our most precious asset; that marriage can be a beautiful and fulfilling experience; that the responsible exercise of parenthood is a joyful task as well as a challenging human obligation. If we could keep hearing this kind of message from people in high places, the cynics and detractors might realize that their abusive polemics are not well-accepted. Then the youth of our land might begin to realize that men and women worthy of the greatest respect are pro-marriage and for families, leading to a change in their own attitudes and sense of personal responsibility.

Thank you.

Senator DENTON. Thank you very much, Dr. Lindsay.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Lindsay and questions with responses follow:].

TESTIMONY OF DR. RICHARD P. LINDSAY
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS AND SPECIAL AFFAIRS
THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

I am Richard P. Lindsay, Ph.D., Managing Director of Public Communications and Special Affairs for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon). I am a husband of thirty-four years, father of six children and grandfather of ten. I have served as Executive Director of the Utah Department of Social Services including health, welfare, corrections, mental health and related governmental agencies. I was earlier the Chairman of the Utah Board of Family Services (state welfare agency), Administrator of the statewide Juvenile Court System and the Director of the Utah State Council on Criminal Justice Administration. I was Chairman of the state's delegation to the White House Conference on Families held in 1980. I have served as a Democratic member of both houses of the Utah State Legislature and chaired the Western States Legislative Conference Committee on Social Services.

From this experience and from more than twenty-five years as a lay church leader, I submit these observations, for which I alone am responsible, concerning the severe problems facing American families in 1983. Many of these problems are obviously beyond the influence of the Congress or of any public entity. Nonetheless the concern for the impact of public policies upon the American family, and the expressed interest of this committee in the social, economic and moral aspects of American family life are indeed heartening and refreshing.

Political and social planning in a wise social order begin with the axiom: What strengthens the family strengthens society. The family is the seedbed of economic skills, money habits, attitudes toward work, and the arts of financial independence. The family is a stronger agency of educational success than the school. The family is a stronger teacher of the religious imagination than the church. If things go well with the family, life is worth living; when the family falters, life often falls apart.

The role of a father, a mother, and of children who respect them, is the critical center of social force. As we are given to quote within our faith, "No success in life can compensate for failure in the home."

Much of contemporary wisdom tells one who puts another's needs and desires ahead of his own, that he is foolish. But Saint Paul reminds us, "God chose the foolish things of the world to shame the wise," (I Corinthians 1:27). Even the father, who expends time, money, and energy on children when he could be living more luxuriously and "imaginatively," is often considered foolish in this world. How much more must the woman who chooses to forego many of her own pleasures and to live, for a number of years at least, almost exclusively for others, consider herself foolish--unless her basic human impulses, which tell her that her conduct is right and good, are effectively reinforced? In my view, government, the media, churches and other groups which influence our societal norms should provide such encouragement and support for this ethic if the moral foundations of our nation are to prevail.

There is not one family pattern in America--there are many. All are alike in this; however, they provide such civilization as exists in these United States with nurturing, grace and hope, and they suffer greatly under the attacks of both the media, the economic system, and often from well-intentioned public programs.

Aggressive sentiments against marriage are often expressed today in the name of "freedom," "openness," or "serious commitment to a career." Marriage is pictured as a form of imprisonment, oppression, boredom and chafing hindrance. These accusations are not entirely wrong. While marriage does indeed impose humbling and often frustrating responsibilities, these challenges are precisely the preconditions for true liberation. Marriage is not the enemy of moral development in adults. It is just the opposite.

A frightening statistic is pointed out in the September 1983 edition of American Demographics. Fully 59 percent of children born in 1983 will live with only one parent before they reach the age of 18, according to estimates by Arthur J. Norton, Assistant Chief of the Population Division of the Census Bureau.

Children live in single-parent homes because they are born to unwed mothers, because their parents split up, or because a parent dies. Norton examined recent trends in premarital births, divorce, separation, and death and applied current rates for these events to a hypothetical group of 100 babies born in 1983.

Twelve of these 100 babies will be born to unwed mothers and live with their mother for at least one year. Forty more will be born to parents who will divorce before the child is 18. Five babies will have parents who separate, and two babies will live in a single-parent home because one parent dies before they are 18 - a total of 59 percent.

Norton's estimates imply that the single-parent home will be the norm for a majority of children sometime during their childhood.

Recently, one of the country's most respected sociologists, Dr. Amitai Etzioni of Columbia University, warned "that if we continue to dismember the American family at the present rate, we shall run out of families before we run out of oil." Etzioni further underscored the dramatic deterioration of the American family in recent years in the following statement: "If the number of married couples decreases at the accelerating rate it has over the past few years, the result will be no husband/wife families by the year 2008." (Next May/June 1980, p. 28) Although Dr. Etzioni surely does not seriously believe there will be no married couples in America by the turn of the century, to any thoughtful contemporary observer the tearing at the fabric of family life and the relationships of family members are self-evident.

Experts differ somewhat concerning the effects of divorce although most concur the psychological impacts are generally adverse to children. A negative effect on their economic well-being is almost inevitable. Before divorce, two parents and their children share one household, benefiting from economies of scale and from cooperative endeavors of the partnership. After divorce there are typically two households to maintain, the economies of scale are lost and cooperative effort is more difficult if not impossible.

Moreover, in most cases fathers provide little or no child support when the mother has custody. Fewer than half of such mothers receive child support payments from the father. Many divorced mothers must work full time to support their children, and others depend partly or totally on government subsidy. Even so, more than 50 percent of the children in families headed by a female live in poverty, compared with only 8 percent in husband-wife families. (From Victor R. Fuchs, Professor of Economics, Stanford University in New York Times, September 7, 1983.)

I should like to suggest five reasons for society's interest and the interest of this Senate Committee in preserving such bedrock concepts as stable marriages.

First, the needs of children. Stability and continuity are so essential to child development that this factor alone justifies the legal preferences given to permanent kinship units.

Second, family life is the source of public virtue--a willingness to obey the unenforceable. It is through the commitments made in families that both children and parents experience the value of authority, responsibility, and duty in their most pristine forms. Those who formulated our constitutional system knew that 'public virtue' among the citizenry was crucial to preserving the authority of popularly elected leaders.

The third reason for society's interest in the formal family is the family's role in preserving a democratic system of limited government. The immensely important responsibility of teaching values to children should be retained by the family, and not allocated to government.

Fourth, formal marriage and family ties are essential to stability in our system of jurisprudence. A justifiable expectation that a relationship will continue indefinitely permits both society and the individuals involved to invest themselves in the relationship with a reasonable belief that the likelihood of future benefits warrants the risks and inconvenience of their personal investment.

Five - A reduction in national divorce rates will reduce the number of children living in poverty and decrease the size and cost of many government programs.

The assault on the family particularly since the 1960's, together with growing economic stress, have given rise to any number of changes in families that earlier would have been considered deviant but are now simply referred to as "variant." Accompanying these drastic changes, however, have been recent warnings from many experts that there "is no substitute for the family," and these same experts are predicting that if current social trends mitigating against families are not checked, the long term social consequences will be disastrous. Many of these anti-family trends, including state-encouraged abortion, rampant pornography and obscenity and aggressive homosexuality, are advocated by special interest groups whose self-interest is only too evident. America's public policy must be shifted to one which supports rather than denigrates families.

Existing and proposed public policies should be analyzed in terms of their impact upon families. Public policies should respect the sanctity of family life and all human life. Many tax policies and welfare laws, such as the requirement that a father must leave home for his family to receive assistance, should be carefully reviewed. Tax dollars spent to make sex counseling and prescription birth-control drugs and devices available to minor children without cost and without the knowledge of parents violates the principle of parental responsibility for minor children. Millions of parents would deeply resent the violation of their right to know what is said and given to their minor children through government-supported entities.

Since the federal government became involved in funding these family planning and contraceptive programs, most researchers agree that virtually every problem the programs have sought to deter have become much worse:

- Teenage pregnancy rates have continued to rise and the rate of teenage abortion has sky-rocketed.
- Increasing millions are exposed to venereal disease.
- Increasing numbers of illegitimate children are handicapped in their early lives as unwed mothers face the difficult task of raising their children alone.
- Public expenditures escalate as increasing numbers of single mothers join the welfare ranks and we witness the increasing feminization of poverty in this country.

The "Feminization of Poverty" is not a future problem. It is a present, painful reality. Families headed by single females comprise the fastest growing segment of the poverty population.

It is a national disaster that in some cities of our country abortions outnumber live births, and in some instances illegitimate births outnumber children born to parents bonded in marriage.

We recognize that such tragic data reflect a deeper problem of moral deterioration in our land. Government policies, however, should not aid and abet with taxpayers' dollars those programs which adversely affect the emotional and physical health of children, the values of families, and the rights and duties of parents.

In the Old Testament of the King James Bible there are 23,214 verses and in the very last two of these verses the Prophet Malachi seems to speak to our generation:

> Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse." (Malachi 4:5-6)

The values people live by are to a large extent a function of the quality of their family life and the training received when they were children. Healthy, mature, vital people embrace solid and constructive values and society moves forward.

A better tomorrow begins with the training of a better generation. This places upon us as parents the responsibility to do more effective work in rearing and guiding our children. The home is the place where character is best formed and habits established. When parents recognize this role the family and nation move forward--when it is ignored families and nations perish.

Finally, while public policy and legislation in support of families are critical, might we also recommend the need for the strong, personal leadership of this distinguished body by your own example in this matter. A United States Senator's personal support of his or her own family and within spheres of his or her personal influence, will have a far-reaching effect. Public officials will be most effective when they lead by example.

It is deplorable that a great nation like ours has watched marriages collapse on a scale quite unprecedented, and stood by with apparent indifference. Marriages and families in this country are going through a period of turbulent change and upheaval. Millions of men and women are going hopefully into marriage, struggling to succeed, giving up, getting divorced, parceling out their children, marrying again, some succeeding the second time around, more failing again. Amid this scene of chaos and confusion, our national leadership in the main looks on mostly indifferent, detached, usually uninvolved.

The efforts of this committee appear to be a much-appreciated exception to the rule. If more of our national leaders would speak out, the climate of public opinion could quickly change. There is no need to denounce anyone--just to recognize that our family life is perhaps our most precious asset; that marriage can be a beautiful and fulfilling experience; that the responsible exercise of parenthood is a joyful task as well as a challenging human obligation. If we could keep hearing this kind of message from people in high places, the cynics and detractors might realize that their abusive polemics are not well accepted. Then the youth of our land might begin to realize that men and women worthy of the greatest respect are promarriage and for families, leading to a change in their own attitudes and sense of personal responsibility.

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1983 OCT 27 AM 11:39

October 21, 1983

Senator Jeremiah Denton
110 RSOB
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Denton:

The following is in response to your recent letter asking for reaction to questions which grew out of testimony before your sub-committee on Family and Human Services. We have attempted to supply information representative of the teachings and practices of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Quotations are from present or past leaders of our church.

By way of explanation concerning some of the frequently-quoted persons and publications, Spencer W. Kimball is current president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Gordon B. Hinckley is counselor to President Kimball in the First Presidency of our church. The Ensign and the New Era are monthly magazines published by our church. The Church News is published weekly by the Deseret News, a Salt Lake City-based newspaper.

1. "Miss Decter makes some very strong statements in her testimony about the failure of parents to give their children an adequate moral framework within which to operate--child sacrifice, she calls it. Could the rest of you comment on her thesis--and on its role in our current problems?"

Response
We believe that parents have a God-given responsibility to teach their children correct moral values. When parents fail to do this, society suffers and the parents will eventually account to the Almighty.

"The parents in Zion will be held responsible for the acts of their children, not only until they become eight years old, but, perhaps, throughout the lives of their children, provided they have neglected their duty to their children while they were under their care and guidance and the parents were responsible for them."(Joseph F. Smith, Conference Report, April 1910, p. 6.)

"Wherefore, ye shall remember your children, how that ye have grieved their hearts because of the example that ye have set before them; and also, remember that ye may, because of your filthiness, bring your children unto destruction, and their sins be heaped upon your heads at the last day." (Jacob 3:10)

"Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it." (Psalms 22:6)

"Son of man, speak to the children of thy people and say unto them, When I bring the sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their coasts, and set him for their watchman.

"If when he seeth the sword come upon the land he blow the trumpet and warn the people.

"Then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet and taketh not warning; if the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head.

"He heard the sound of th trumpet, and took not warning; his blood shall be upon him. But he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul.

"But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come, and take any person from among them he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand." (Ezekiel 33:2-6)

2. "There's Dad and his wife, Mom and her second husband, Junior's two halfbrothers from his father's first marriage, his six stepsisters from his mother's spouse's previous unions, 100-year-old Great Grandpa, all eight of Junior's current grandparents, assorted aunts, uncles-in-law and stepcousins." This was the recent U.S. News and World Report forecast for the year 2033. Is this the family of the future that you foresee? If so, do you believe that the children of tomorrow can deal with the multiple relationships involved?"

Response
When divorce occurs and there are children involved, the children usually suffer. Certainly society should do all it can to ameliorate the tragic results of divorce. But of primary importance is helping people to be better prepared for marriage, and attempting to instill in them a greater commitment to make marriage work, the first time.

"We decry the prevalence of broken homes. Every man should love his wife and cherish and protect her all the days of their lives and she should love, honor and appreciate her husband...

"Most divorces are unwarranted and come of weakness and selfishness and often result in great unhappiness for the divorced persons and also almost irreparable damage and frustration to the unfavored children, who are torn and disturbed.

"Certainly, selfishness is near its greatest peak when innocent children must suffer for the sins of their parents . Almost like a broken record come from divorcees that it is better to have them grow up in a single-parent home than a fighting home. The answer to that specious argument is: there need be no battling parents in fighting homes...if two good people will discard selfishness, generally they can be compatible." (Spencer W Kimball, Ensign, May 1979, p. 6.)

3. "As you know, the title of our hearing today is "Broken Families: Causes and Societal Implications." Some would say that the developing malaise within the institution of the family threatens the very survival of our civilization. How would you respond to that statement?"

Response
"...we shall have a great society only as we develop good people and the source of good people is a good home." (Gordon B. Hinckley, Salt Lake Tribune, 3 October 1965, p. A-1.)

"The most important work we will ever do will be within the walls of our own homes." (Harold B. Lee, New Era, Nov. 1973, p. 5)

"If I were asked to name the world's greatest need, I should say unhesitatingly wise mothers; and the second, exemplary fathers.

"If mother love were but half rightly directed, and if fatherhood were but half what it should be in example and honor, much of the sorrow and wickedness in the world would indeed be overcome.

"The home is the source of our national life. If we keep the spring pure we shall have less difficulty in protecting the stream from pollution." (David O. McKay, Church News, 7 May 1960, p. C-2)

4. "How successful do you believe institutional child care services can be, either in whole or in part, as a replacement for parental time and care in child rearing?"

Response
"Responsibility for training children cannot be shifted to agencies. There seems to be a growing tendency to shift this responsibility from the home to outside influences such as the school and the church, and, of greater concern, to various child-care agencies and institutions. Important as these outward influences may be, they never can adequately take the place of the influence of the mother and the father. Constant training, constant vigilance, companionship, and being watchmen of our own children are necessary in order to keep our homes intact and to bless our children in the Lord's own way." (The Teachings of Spencer W Kimball, Bookcraft, 1982, p. 337.)

"Other institutions in society may falter and even fail, but the righteous woman can help to save the home, which may be the last and only sanctuary some mortals know in the midst of storm and strife." (Spencer W. Kimball, Ensign, Nov. 1978, p. 103.)

5. "I have enclosed a copy of an article from Public Opinion (January, 1983), entitled "Hollywood and America: The Odd Couple," by Linda Lichter, S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman. The article describes a survey of 104 of Hollywood's 'media elite', a survey of backgrounds, political views, and religious and moral beliefs. You will note that those interviewed describe themselves as being considerably more left of center than the average American. I would be interested in your comments on any of the findings of the survey as they relate to the role of the media in influencing public attitudes toward the family."

Response
"Portrayals of sexual perversion, violence, bestiality become increasingly available for those who succumb to their lures. As this happens religious activities are likely to become less attractive because the two do not mix anymore than oil and water mix.

"A provocative study was recently published in Public Opinion magazine. It has been commented upon by many writers.

"These (the influential television writers and media executives) are the people, who through the medium of entertainment, are educating us in the direction of their own mores and standards which in many cases are diametrically opposed to the standards of the gospel." (Gordon B. Hinckley, General Conference, October 1, 1983.)

"Remember that trouble attracts attention! We travel the highway with thousands of cars moving in either direction without paying much attention to any of them. But should an accident occur, we notice immediately.

"If it happens again, we get the false impression that no one can go safely down the road.

"One accident may make the front page, while a hundred million cars that safely pass are not regarded as worth mentioning.

"Writers think that a happy, stable marriage does not have the dramatic appeal, the conflict worth featuring in a book or a play or a film. Therefore, we constantly hear about the ruined ones and we lose our perspective.

"I believe in marriage. I believe it to be the ideal pattern for human living. I know it to be ordained of God. The restraints relating to it were designed to protect our happiness." (Boyd K. Packer, Ensign, May 1981, pp. 14-15.)

6. "Do you believe sexual permissiveness before marriage affects the likelihood of the success of a future marriage?"

Response
We believe in chastity before marriage and in fidelity after marriage.

"The sexual drives which bind men and women together as one are good and necessary. They make it possible to leave one's parents and cleave unto one another. But here, more than almost any other place, we must exercise self-control. These drives which are the fountainhead of human life are to be allowed expression only in the sanctity of marriage." (Spencer W. Kimball, Ensign, Nov. 1978, p. 102.)

7. "Do you believe that the churches today are outspoken enough on sexual mores and on the sanctity of marriage?"

Response
"...God is unchanging, and his covenants and doctrines are not susceptible to change. When the sun grows cold and the stars no longer shine, the law of chastity will still be basic in God's world and in the Lord's church." (Spencer W. Kimball, Ensign, Nov. 1978, p. 105)

8. "I believe there is still some ambivalence in our society today as to where married women should draw the line between their devotion to career and the time they spend with their families. Is there any correlation at all in your mind between the role changes that have occurred between the sexes in recent years and the rising divorce rate?"

Response
There are many situations where women have no choice but to work. When there is a choice, we believe that because of the importance of the decision, divine guidance should be sought.

"Fathers and mothers, before you decide you need a second income and that mother must go to work out of the home, may I plead with you: first go to the Lord in prayer and receive his divine approbation. Be sure he says yes. Mothers with children and teenagers at home, before you go out of your homes to work, please count the cost as carefully as you count the profit." (Bishop H. Burke Peterson, Ensign, May 1974, p. 32.)

We appreciate this opportunity and hope that our responses to your questions will be helpful. May God continue to bless you.

Sincerely,

Richard P. Lindsay, Ph.D.

Senator DENTON. Mr. Rainey?

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, thank you for the privilege of testifying today, and because of the length of my written statement, I will be highlighting that prepared statement in lieu of the following remarks.

I believe that the current epidemic divorce rate and fragmentation of the family is threatening the very moral fiber of our country. We can no longer afford to ignore the broken home and its effects on our society. I applaud the activities of this subcommittee and the formation of the caucus on the family.

History records the breakdown of the family as the central piece of evidence heralding the collapse of nations and empires before us. The crisis at present demands our energy if we are to continue to experience freedom in future generations.

Much has been said in this committee about the symptoms. I would like to focus upon 10 causes I presently see in our culture that are adding to the fragmented family.

First of all, a culture of pressure and stress. Today we live not only in a culture of change, but a changing culture. There is pressure to succeed, pressure to achieve, and pressure to accumulate. Unemployment, economic uncertainties, inflation, and pressure to keep up with others all press in against the family. Pressure resulting from parental responsibilities, two-career families, and increasing expectations of the American dream are all focused upon the family.

Stress and pressure reveal one very enlightening fact: The true values, plans, and character of the individual, the couple, and the family. If couples have the wrong plan or no plan at all for their marriage and their family, the stress and pressure of the 20th century will quickly reveal and erode the foundation of sand that they are building on. Without a set of blueprints for family living—and, I might add, a system of values—they are left with very little to cope with the realities of life.

Second, the media. The media today has become a major influence on the family. In its efforts to provide entertainment and information for our Nation, it has depicted immorality, both inside the family unit and outside the family unit, as the norm. It tells us it is giving us what we want, while making few investments in what we need. Generally the family model represented by the media is no model at all. Typically, divorce is presented as an acceptable solution. The "soaps" fill the homes of America with adultery, cheating, deceit, and divorce.

Researchers today tell us that the average child watches 15,000 hours of television before he reaches the age of 18. That is more time than he will spend in formal education between kindergarten through college. We must ask ourselves the question: What kind of value system will he develop from looking at the moral decay on TV and the cinema? Can we dare afford to feed our children's minds such a diet of immorality?

Third, education. Nowhere is the undermining of the nuclear family more evident than in education. Alternate lifestyles are explored, role deviation—such as homosexual and lesbian behavior—are embraced, and the traditional family is subtly attacked by "broad-minded," "scholarly" educators. Those who would hold to a traditional family unit are frequently scoffed at and called narrow-minded or outdated.

Alternative family arrangements, such as limited-term-contract marriages, open marriages, or just living together, are explored and encouraged.

I must ask, can we afford to teach without a moral basis? Is education without absolutes going to fortify the freedom we now enjoy? Personally, I wonder what type of freedom my own five children will experience in the next generation. Theodore Roosevelt stated it well, "To educate a man in mind and not in morals is to educate a menace to society."

The fourth cause, the women's movement. Let me say at the beginning that I am sympathetic with some of the issues represented by the women's movement, such as equal pay for equal work. I would be quick to add that much of the present movement, I believe, is a result of men who have not accorded women their God-given value. If men would have given women the esteem they deserve and the value the scripture places on them, I think much of the present-day movement would not exist.

However, in its efforts to gain esteem for women, the women's movement has made at least two errors as it has attacked two building blocks of our society: the traditional family unit and the authority of the man as the head of the home.

Throughout the writings of the women's movement, the traditional family is attacked. Women who choose to be housewives and mothers at home are castigated and chided for what they are missing. They are missing true self-fulfillment, they are told, and they are not reaching their full potential. No thinking, educated woman, we are told, would stay at home with her children and invest her life in future generations through her children.

One of the leaders of the feminist movement, Germaine Greer, says "I am passionately opposed to the nuclear family, with its mom and dad and their 2.4 children. I think it is the most neurotic lifestyle ever developed." Much of the movement's philosophy is "You don't need a man." Generally the home is seen as an oppressive threat to women who wish to find fulfillment and freedom.

The second area that is being attacked by the women's movement is that of the changing roles. Author, educator, and lecturer, Dr. James Dobson, who is recognized by this body for his contributions to the American family, has stated: "You do not change over 50 percent of the population's role without drastically affecting the other 50 percent."

The effect of these new definitions is an epidemic of confused and insecure men who wonder where their place is. Their authority as the head of the home is being questioned, undermined, and attacked by the women's movement. In the rapid evolution of the women's role, we have developed a democratic home, a place where everyone has a vote, but no one is really in charge.

Fifth, selfishness. Today, we live in a culture of narcissism. This is the "me" generation. Christopher Lasch, an American historian, writes in his book, "The Culture of Narcissism," "People of the past lived for the future, shunning self-indulgence in favor of patient, painstaking accumulation. To live for the moment is the prevailing passion," he says, "to live for yourself, not for your predecessor or for posterity."

Another evidence of the narcissistic culture is seen in the rights movement of today. Many are seeking individual rights, while few are speaking for human responsibilities in the family. Alexander Solzhenitsyn's address to the Harvard graduating class states it clearly:

> The defense of individual rights has reached such extremes as to make society as a whole defenseless against certain individuals. It is time in the West to defend not so much human rights as human obligations.

Mankind's selfishness has always plagued his human relationships. Personally, I have found through counseling and my own observations, and the study of the scripture, only one solution that is viable to man's internal problem of selfishness. Man's self-will must be truly submissive to a higher authority—before he can deny himself, and submit himself to others and their needs. I believe the solution is found as many will submit to a personal relationship with God.

Six, the loss of morality. A recent survey of over 3,000 respondents by Research and Forecasts, Inc., was commissioned by the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Co. It revealed that the public ranks moral virtue and honesty as the most important value in the leadership of our Nation. Yet when the editors of Better Homes and Gardens surveyed its readership this past year, over 200,000 respondents took a different stand. In answer to the question, "Do you think it is right or wrong for a couple who cannot get along to get a divorce?" When children were involved, 61 percent said yes, it was right. When children were not involved, 74 percent indicated it was right. We say one thing, and yet practice another.

We have been taught by many educators, Government, media, and even theologians that all is relative. Few absolutes permeate our culture. The Ten Commandments are for another period of history, we are told. Standards are archaic; they restrain, limit, and inhibit our true self. They bring guilt. Divorce is not wrong. The words of Moses in Judges 17:6 are an accurate statement of the standards of our culture: "And every man did what was right in his own eyes."

As a result of this moral decline and immoral indulgences, we have seen a rise in distrust between mates, suspicions, fears, and insecurity about the future. No marriage can thrive in an environment where there is no moral bedrock to build on.

Seventh, the lack of commitment. There is a lack of commitment today to fulfill our vows we made during our marriage ceremony. Practially speaking, much of our society views marriage as a contract, not a covenant—a contract with escape clauses scattered throughout. Less than 25 years ago, the marriage ceremony and the covenant that was established during the ceremony was viewed with sacred and strong reverential attitudes. God was witness of those vows, and that marriage. But today it seems, we have few strong binding covenants between two people and a living God. People look for escape clauses in their contracts when the realities of life crash in on them. The pressures, the selfishness, the cultural immorality all press in against the relationship to reveal that their relationship was not based on a true covenant, but only a contract which could be broken. We have become, I fear, a nation of practical atheists when it comes to fulfilling our marriage covenants.

Eighth, the lack of marriage preparation. I believe today that one of the greatest tragedies facing the American family is that so many are getting married knowing so little. How so many well-informed, educated people can get married having so little information and convictions for building a family continues to astound me as a marriage counselor. Those of us in the church must do a better job of preparing engaged couples for marriage.

Ninth, spiritual decay. Senator Denton made his introductory remarks about the survey done by Better Homes and Gardens, listing the lack of spirituality as the top cause for the decay of the home. I concur. Personally, I believe the solution to the marriage problem is found in the scriptures, and in the person of Jesus Christ. However, I must admit that even within our own Christian circles, there is a quasi-spiritual commitment that oftentimes is not a good example of what true Christianity can offer man. Within the spiritual community, there is great diversity, disagreement and confusion over the issues of roles, divorce, and morality. Some clergy are even recommending divorce.

Finally, 10th, governmental interference. The Government today is slowly making its way into the families of our Nation. Today, in many States, a child who is a minor can get an abortion without the consent of her parents. In the State of Maryland, it is possible for children to be taken to school counselors and to birth control clinics for the purpose of securing birth control without the knowledge of the parents.

Both the executive branch and legislative branch of Government have recognized the problem of the deteriorating family. However, in its efforts to solve the problem, it is encroaching more and more into the affairs of daily family living. If we create a State-dependent family, I fear we will take away responsibilities, freedom, and authority that are given by our Constitution. I recognize there are legitimate needs in the family that must be addresed by this body, but careful scrutiny by Congress must be given lest we create a family that is a State-dependent cripple.

I would like to conclude with some recommendations which I respectfully submit to this subcommittee. Each of these 10 topics that I have mentioned need to be addressed, I believe, by this subcommittee through formal hearings to gather further information and recommendations on each one.

Second, I would like for you Senators, through the Caucus on the Family, to consider cosponsoring legislation that would declare 1985, "The Year of the Family." Since you are concerned about our most basic unit of society, I suggest you encourage the appointment of a commission in the Department of Health and Human Services to study ways to protect and encourage the traditional family unit. Their recommendations could be utilized during the Year of the Family.

Third, as a part of this focus on the family, I would ask you to consider cleaning up our Nation's pornography laws, which undermine the morality we so desperately need.

Fourth, I would recommend that in the Year of the Family, you pass a resolution appealing to the conscience of all media producers, to call for a return to morality in television programing, movies, and printed media.

Fifth, I would also submit that this subcommittee use its oversight responsibilities to look into ways the judicial branch of our Government could be more responsive in protection of the traditional family unit. The judicial branch should be encouraged to discriminate in favor of the traditional family.

Sixth, I would encourage congressional support of the Office of Families for a Government-sponsored pro-family campaigns at businesses. This campaign could be used to raise the value and the priority of the traditional family.

Seventh, I would suggest that Congress appeal to educators throughout our country to teach about the family within the context of an absolute moral standard.

Finally, I would conclude and recommend that the Congress take the lead in leading our Nation in issuing a proclamation for a National Day of Prayer for healing of our Nation's families.

Thank you for this privilege.

Senator **Denton**. Thank you very much, Mr. Rainey.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Rainey and questions with responses follow:]

TESTIMONY OF MR. DENNIS RAINEY
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
FAMILY MINISTRY
OF
CAMPUS CRUSADE FOR CHRIST

Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for the opportunity of testifying today. For the past thirteen years I have worked on family related issues at the emotional, mental, and spiritual levels. As the National Director of the Family Ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ, for the last seven years, I have had the privilege of speaking on the area of marriage and family relationships at over one hundred and fifty Family Life Conferences, in five countries, to well over twenty-five thousand people. I have personally logged several thousand hours of pre-marital and marital counseling. Thus, although I am not a full-time public policy analyst, my conclusions do come from an extensive background of experience, research of current trends, and counseling.

Today the solution most commonly applied to serious marriage problems is divorce. However, divorce is, according to Harvard professor Dr. Armand Nicholai, Jr., "simply an exchange of one set of problems for another." Perhaps the most lethal enemy of the home is not divorce, but emotional isolation - people who, though legally married, are isolated from their mates and families. I believe that the current epidemic divorce rate and fragmentation of the family is threatening the very moral fiber of our country. We can no longer afford to ignore the broken home and its effect on our society. History records the breakdown of the family as the central piece of evidence heralding the collapse of nations and empires before us. The crisis at present demands our energy if we are to continue to experience freedom in future generations.

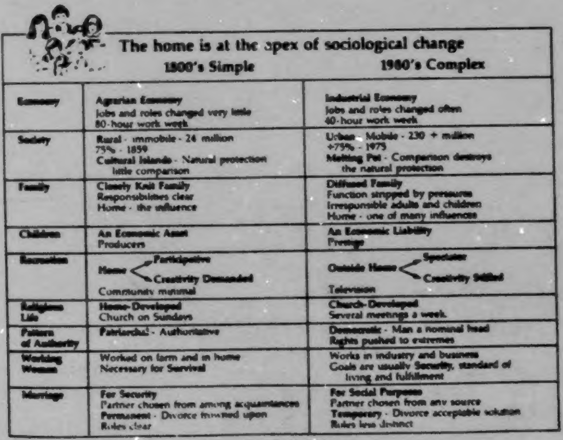
I would like to suggest ten causes I presently see in our culture that are contributing to the disintegration of the American family.

I. A CULTURE OF PRESSURE AND STRESS

Today we live not only in a culture of change but in a changing culture. This change results in pressure: pressure to succeed, pressure to achieve, and pressure to accumulate. Unemployment, economic uncertainties, inflation, and pressure to keep up with others all press in against the family. Pressure resulting from parental responsibilities, two career families, and increasing expectations of the "American Dream" are all focused on the family.

Drs. Thomas Holmes and Minory Masudu, psychiatrists at the University of Washington in Seattle, have developed a scale to measure pressure or stress-related changes. This widely-used scale, called the Social Readjustment Rating Scale, shows that - of the top fourteen causes of stress - ten are family related issues.

The following chart, from our Family Life Conference, illustrates how the family is at the apex of sociological change, and thus is operating in a culture of pressure:



The home is at the apex of sociological change

	1800's Simple	1980's Complex
Economy	**Agrarian Economy** Jobs and roles changed very little 80-hour work week	**Industrial Economy** Jobs and roles changed often 40-hour work week
Society	**Rural** - immobile - 24 million 75% - 1859 **Cultural Islands** - Natural protection little comparison	**Urban** - Mobile - 230 + million +75% - 1975 **Melting Pot** - Comparison destroys the natural protection
Family	**Closely Knit Family** Responsibilities clear Home - the influence	**Diffused Family** Function stripped by pressures Irresponsible adults and children Home - one of many influences
Children	**An Economic Asset** Producers	**An Economic Liability** Prestige
Recreation	**Home** **Participative** **Creativity Demanded** Community minimal	**Outside Home** **Spectator** **Creativity Stifled** Television
Religious Life	**Home-Developed** Church on Sundays	**Church-Developed** Several meetings a week.
Pattern of Authority	**Patriarchal** - Authoritative	**Democratic** - Man a nominal head Rights pushed to extremes
Working Women	Worked on farm and in home Necessary for Survival	Works in industry and business Goals are usually Security, standard of living and fulfillment
Marriage	**For Security** Partner chosen from among acquaintances **Permanent** - Divorce frowned upon Rules clear	**For Social Purposes** Partner chosen from any source **Temporary** - Divorce acceptable solution Rules less distinct

Credit: Dr. Howard Hendricks-Christian Home Class-Dallas Theological Seminary

The result of this stress, within both the family and our culture, is evident. David Stoop comments on how stress is affecting Americans in his book Self Talk, where he makes the observation that "some thirty million Americans suffer from sleeplessness, twenty-five million are afflicted with hypertension, and twenty million have ulcers." Family relationships bear the heavy weight of these increasing pressures, and many are being crushed by the burden. In most cases I have counseled, the family gets only the "leftovers" after career, financial, and time demands have drained off the best creative energies.

Stress and pressure reveal some very enlightening facts - the true values, plans, and character of the individual, couple, and family. If couples have the wrong plan (or no plan at all) for their marriage and family, the stress and pressure of the twentieth century will quickly reveal and erode the foundation of sand they are building on. Without a clear objective and a system of values for family living, they are unable to cope with the realities of life. Perhaps the most lethal enemy of the home is not divorce, but emotional isolation - people who, though legally married, are isolated from their mates and families.

I believe there is a solution to the problem of stress and pressure. I think people are looking for hope - not only for building families - but for being able to cope with the realities of life.

II. MEDIA

Media is a major influence on the family. In its efforts to provide entertainment and information for our nation, it has generally depicted immorality - both inside the family unit and outside the family unit - as the norm. It tells us it is giving us what we want while making few investments in what we need. Generally, the family model represented by the media is no model at all. Divorce is presented as an acceptable solution. The "soaps" fill the homes of America with adultery, cheating, deceit, and divorce.

Researchers today tell us that the average child watches fifteen thousand hours of television before he reaches the age of eighteen. That is more time than he will spend in formal education from kindergarten through college. We must ask ourselves the question, "What kind of value system will he develop from looking at the moral decay on the T.V. and at the cinema?" Can we dare afford to feed our children's minds such a diet of immorality?

As a result of the proliferation of the media upon our culture, we have for the most part become an unthinking people who have begun to believe that the "tube" presents reality and our lives are unreal. We have been led to believe that television presents life's standards, thus we question our own common sense. Individuals I have counseled have expressed that the problems and difficulties they are having can be escaped by having an affair. Many simply shed one group of responsibilities through divorce and pick up a "new" set of circumstances. I believe much of this "new morality" has been fueled by the media.

The morality of the media was best depicted in a survey of influential television writers and executives in Hollywood. The survey shows that not only are they far less religious than the general public, but they "diverge sharply from traditional values" on issues such as abortion, homosexual rights, and extramarital sex.

The authors of this study; Robert Lichter of George Washington University, Stanley Rothman of Smith College, and Linda Lichter of Columbia and George Washington Universities; chose writers, executive producers, and other influential executives who are currently involved with successful television programs. Of the one hundred and four people interviewed, eighty percent did not regard homosexual relations as wrong. Fifty-one percent did not see anything wrong in adultery and of the forty-nine percent who did deem extramarital affairs wrong, only seventeen percent felt that way strongly.

Where is a modern day nuclear family role model that would strengthen our country being presented in the media? Why can't the writers and producers discriminate for the traditional family instead of against it?

III. EDUCATION

Today, a great many educators are slowly undermining the traditional family in the minds of our youth. Alternative lifestyles are explored, role deviation (such as homosexual and lesbian behavior) is embraced, and the traditional family is subtly attacked by "broad-minded", "scholarly" educators. Those in the academic arena who would hold to a traditional family unit are limited in number. I would like to add that there seems to be a revival of educators who are taking a public stand for the traditional family.

Alternative family arrangements - such as "limited-term contract" marriages, "open" marriages, or living together - are studied and encouraged. I have counseled hundreds of pre-married couples who are graduating from our colleges and universities. It is evident that the educations they are receiving give them very few standards or well-defined roles for their new life together. Thus, many of these couples have emerged from university training with, at best, a "mixed bag" of concepts on the family. They have been given far too little guidance and teaching on personal morals, ethics, or standards that are essential for a healthy functioning family unit. The fact that a personal God exists who can be relevant to the family is not given credence. In fact, on many of our university and college campuses, the idea of seeking Divine assistance is undermined, even shot down, in the minds of students. Education can thus be a tool to undermine the traditional family. As a result, we have, in one sector of society, a highly educated group who have been deluged with a steady stream of humanistic thought.

For the past six years, I have taught a graduate level singles' class at the International School of Theology in San Bernardino, California. Their emotions about marriage - because of their own backgrounds and the lack of real answers from education - are fear, confusion, and disillusionment. They wonder if anyone can be happily married.

Can we afford to teach without a moral basis? Is education without absolutes going to fortify the freedom we now enjoy? Theodore Roosevelt stated it well when he said, "To educate a man in mind and not in morals is to educate a menace to society."

IV. WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Let me say that I am sympathetic with some of the issues represented by the women's movement, such as equal pay for equal work. I believe, also, that much of the present movement is a result of men who have not accorded women their God-given value. If men would have given women the esteem they deserve and the value that Scripture places on them, I think much of the present day movement would not exist. However, in its efforts to gain esteem and rights for women, the women's movement has made a great error in attacking two building blocks of our society: the traditional nuclear family, and the authority of man as the head of the home.

Feminist leader, Gloria Steinem, represents a portion of their philosophy clearly, "For the sake of those who wish to live in equal partnership, we have to abolish and reform the institution of marriage." When asked, in an interview by Redbook Magazine (January 1972), if a good marriage would be a test of how liberated a woman can be she replied, "As for me, my marrying - no. Not until marriage laws change. Because marriage itself, or marriage and the family are now instruments of women's oppression."

Throughout the writings of the women's movement the traditional family is attacked. Women who choose to be housewives and mothers at home are castigated and chided that they are missing life. They are missing true self-fulfillment and they aren't reaching full potential. No thinking, educated woman we are told would stay at home with her children and invest her life in future generations through her children.

Look at what Germaine Greer states when it comes to the institution of marriage. (Playboy, January 1972, p. 72) "I'm passionately opposed to the nuclear family, with its mom and dad and their 2.4 children, I think it's the most neurotic life style ever developed. There's just no space between the mother and the children. And the husband, on the other hand, is an extraneous element in the household who usually just exacerbates the tensions that already exist between the mother and the child. The nuclear family's just too small, too introspective and incestuous a unit." Generally, the nuclear family is seen as an oppressive threat to the goals of the feminist movement.

Alternate life styles are also encouraged resulting in role confusion and, in some cases, lesbianism. Much of the movement's philosophy states, "You don't need a man."

The result of this attack is seen as both men and women grapple over their roles. The problem, however, is that no clear voice has emerged to give authoritative answers to their questions. Role models are being based upon the loud cries of the women's movement, who are experts at making themselves heard. However, the movement itself is directed by the opinions of a few who despise the traditional family. The ultimate result is that the family is suffering and will continue to suffer in future generations, unless it begins to operate within the plans designed by God rather than a plan designed by man's own ingenuity.

The second area which the women's movement has had a profound effect on is that of changing roles. Almost all differences between male and female have been sought to be eradicated. "Equality on all levels" seems to be the battle cry. As a result of these efforts to make men and women equal, we see a resulting change in the role structure within the family unit. Author, educator, and lecturer Dr. James Dobson - recognized by Congress for his contributions to the American family - has stated, "You do not change over fifty percent of the population's role without drastically affecting the other fifty percent."

The effect of these new definitions is an epidemic of confused and insecure men, who wonder where their place is. Their authority as the head of the home is being questioned, undermined, and attacked by the women's movement. I would certainly agree that many men have not done a good job leading. Many have led their families in a dictatorial style. That, too, is harmful to the traditional family. However, in the rapid evolution of the women's role, we have developed a "democratic" home, a place where every one has a vote but no one is really in charge. I believe that the home must have clear, well-defined roles and responsibilities if it is to be a creative and dynamic force in society.

V. SELFISHNESS

Today we live in a culture of narcissism. This is the "me" generation. The familiar jingles continually ring out at us, "You deserve a break today." "We do it your way." "Have it your way." This selfishness pervading our culture is depicted by the American historian, Christopher Lasch, in his book The Culture of Narcissism, where he speaks of American life in an age of diminishing expectations. He says, "People of the past lived for the future, shunning self-indulgence in favor of patient, painstaking accumulation . . .

. . . but today, in an age of diminishing expectations, the Protestant virtues no longer excite enthusiasm. Inflation erodes investments and savings. Advertisement undermines the horror of indebtedness exhorting the consumer to buy now and pay later. As the future becomes menacing and uncertain, only fools put off till tomorrow the fun they can have today." He adds prophetically, "To live for the moment is the prevailing passion - to live for yourself, not for your predecessors or posterity."

This drive toward the pursuit of materialistic values has driven the family into what is called the "two-career" family. Both husband and wife concentrate their energy and efforts in careers, not for the purpose of survival but, in many cases, for a higher standard of living. Not only does the marital relationship suffer, but I have also seen countless cases where parental neglect further fragments the family.

Another evidence of this narcissistic culture is seen in the "rights" movement of today. Many are seeking individual rights while few are speaking for human responsibilities in the family. Alexander Solzhenitsyn's address to the Harvard Graduating Class of 1979 states our present situation clearly. He said, "The defense of individual rights has reached such extremes as to make society as a whole defenseless against certain individuals. It is time in the West, to defend not so much human rights as human obligations."

The reality of this seeking "our rights" and self-fulfillment in marriage is that each partner becomes obsessed with how the marriage is benefiting them. They measure that benefit through their feelings because our culture has taught them to focus on what feels good or seems good to them. Thus, when feelings wane, as they inevitably do at times in any marriage, they begin seeking to recapture those feelings in other places. For the most part, as man has sought to gain freedom he has instead become enslaved in himself and his emotions, resulting in even further bondage. The counseling offices of America are filled with individuals who are experiencing anger, resentment, bitterness, and rejection.

Mankind's selfishness has always plagued his human relationships. The question has loomed throughout history, "How can a selfish person maintain quality relationships when that relationship involves another selfish person?" I have found only one viable solution to man's internal problem of selfishness. According to the Biblical perspective, man's self will must be truly submissive to a higher authority, God, before he can deny himself for the sake of another family member.

VI. THE LOSS OF MORALITY

A recent survey of 3,780 respondents by Research and Forecasts, Incorporated, commissioned by the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, revealed that the public ranks moral virtue and honesty as the most important value in the leadership in our nation. Yet when the editors of Better Homes and Gardens surveyed its readership this past year the 201,320 respondents took a different stand. In answer to the question, "Do you think it is right or wrong for a couple who can't get along to get a divorce?" When children were involved, 61% indicated it was right. When no children were involved, 74% indicated it was right. As a culture, we say one thing and yet practice another. Unfortunately, even the religious community has been guilty here. We have been guilty of not taking a strong public stand against divorce and immorality. Also, we have confused conviction with compassion when it comes to tough issues like divorce. Both conviction and compassion must exist without compromise.

The family today shows striking evidence of our eroding moral standards. We have been taught - by many educators, government, media, and even theologians - that all is relative. Few absolutes exist within our culture. The Ten Commandments were for another period of history, we are told. Standards are archaic: they restrain, limit, and inhibit our true self. Divorce is not wrong: it's a sensible way out of a difficult situation. Adultery and immorality are tolerated in our society. This absence of consistent value systems is best seen by the attitude toward sex of the present generation of teenagers. They are simply emulating what has been modeled by adults. The words of Moses in Judges 17:6 are an accurate statement of the standards of our culture, "...and every man did what was right in his own eyes."

As a result of this moral decline and immoral indulgences we have seen a rise in distrust between mates, suspicions, fears, and insecurity about the future. Hundreds of couples attend our Family Life Conferences expressing a need to get back to the basics - living life by the true standard, the Holy Scriptures, and a life of dependence upon a sovereign God.

VII. LACK OF COMMITMENT

As I have stated earlier, divorce today has become an acceptable solution to marriage. In the 1950's, a man could be successful in business and fail at home and it would drastically affect his reputation in the marketplace. Today, however, that is not true. A man can be a failure at home and be prominent in the public eye if he is successful in business. I have even counseled some, involved in the corporate structure, who have been told that their jobs take precedence over their family relationships. Rarely do we reward the person who limits their career for the sake of their marriage and family.

Marriage is a commitment - a pledge, a vow - and there is a lack of commitment today to see those vows through. Instead we have become a culture that bails out when problems get too heavy.

By nature, marriage is a binding covenant. Yet, for many, marriage is being viewed as a contract – a contract with escape clauses scattered throughout. I have actually counseled couples who wish to begin their marriage on a contract basis to protect assets against future dissolution of the marriage relationship. This paranoia and lack of commitment is evidenced in couples who are desperately looking for secure, stable relationships.

Marriage today is no longer viewed as a covenant. Less than twenty-five years ago the marriage ceremony and the covenant that was established during that ceremony was viewed with sacred and reverential attitudes. God was witness of those vows. Today a covenant is rarely spoken of, even in many religious communities. God is no longer present, it seems, as husband and wife face problems, trials, and the difficulties of life.

As a result of no strong binding covenant between two people and the living God, people look for the escape clauses in their contracts when the realities of life press in on them. The pressures, the selfishness, the cultural immorality all press in against the relationship to reveal that their relationship was not based upon a true covenant, but a contract which could be broken. The cost? A few moments in a courtroom, a few signatures, and another "binding agreement" to pay alimony and child support in the future. We have become, I fear, a nation of practical atheists when it comes to the marriage covenant. As a nation, we need more than a small remnant that is willing to fulfill their covenants "till death do us part."

VIII. A LACK OF MARRIAGE PREPARATION

I believe today that one of the great tragedies facing the American family is that so many are getting married knowing so little. It is staggering to me how so many well-informed, educated people can get married having so little information and convictions for building a family in this day and age.

One well-known author and educator, Dr. Howard Hendricks, Chairman of the Christian Education Department at Dallas Theological Seminary, states it well, "Today in Dallas, Texas, it takes three weeks of intensive training to become a garbage collector, but about all you have to do to get married in the city of Dallas is to stand before the justice of the peace and grunt."

I recently met an attractive couple in their thirties who were celebrating their first anniversary. They had waited to be married. He had his Ph.D. She also was well educated. Yet when I asked how many of those twenty years of formal education had been spent on preparing for marriage, he replied, "Very, very little." Their case is not an isolated one.

In many regards it is a little presumptuous of those of us in the religious community or in the public arena to expect so much good to come out of marriages between people who have had so little preparation and education before they marry. Those of us in the church must do a better job at preparing engaged couples for marriage.

IX. SPIRITUAL DECAY

Personally, I believe that the solutions to the marriage problem are found in the Scriptures, and in the person of Jesus Christ. However, I must admit that even within our own Christian circles there is a quasi-spiritual commitment that often times is not a good example of what true Christianity can offer man. Within the spiritual community, there is great diversity and disagreement over the whole issue of roles, divorce and morality. Many clergy are recommending divorce. The church, in many places, has lost its flavor of being a standard of truth for the world to look to for leadership. It, too, has compromised on some very important issues.

In many places in our country the church has done the job - Truth is taught - and family relationships are fortified and strengthened. I believe that the Truth shines best in the darkness and, as a nation, I believe we are near a moral and spiritual revival.

X. GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE

The government is slowly making its way into our nation's families. As a result, today in many states, a child who is a minor can get an abortion without the consent of her parents. In the state of Maryland, it is possible for children to be taken by school counselors to birth control clinics, for the purpose of securing birth control devices or prescriptions, without the knowledge of their parents. Even a husband has no say, in many states, whether his wife gets an abortion. Children, I am told by constitutional lawyer John Whitehead, are viewed by many state agencies as "wards of the state." He adds, "Many of the same state agencies view parents as consultants."

The results of governmental intervention are frightening. The real authority of the man is undermined. Family "rights" and "responsibilities" are encroached upon, creating an even more government-dependent culture. I know of one case where a daughter was encouraged, by a state agency, to sue her parents. She had been grounded by the parents because she was caught shoplifting. The judge ruled in favor of the teenager and the state took her away from her parents for one year without telling them where she was. They were also threatened by that state to stop spanking their other children or they, too, would be taken away. That couple, in full-time vocational Christian work, had to leave the state to protect their family.

Governmental agencies must be careful about encroaching on the constitutional rights of the family as they deal with some very complex and difficult issues. Midge Decter stated earlier to this body, "Why should a society that professes to believe in the family not discriminate in its favor?" Why not?!

Both the executive and legislative branches of government have recognized the problem of the deteriorating family. However, in its efforts to solve the problem, it is encroaching more and more on the affairs of daily family living. If we create a "state-dependent" family, I fear we will take away the responsibilities, freedom and authority that are given us by our constitution. I recognize that there are legitimate needs in the family that must be addressed by this body, but careful scrutiny by Congress must be made lest we create a family that is a state-dependent cripple.

CONCLUSION

The result of these factors upon the family is evident. The family is a beleaguered fortress - attacked, pressured, undermined, yet still standing and growing. The home is the rudder of our culture. Without a strong family unit, as a culture we are left to drift, tossed about with no direction. We must be reminded of the words of G. K. Chesterton who said, "As the family goes, so goes society." We must pour our creative energies into fortifying America's most valuable resource.

Perhaps one of the most sobering assessments of the demise of the family was made in 1947 by historian Carle Zimmerman in his book Family and Civilization. Here, Zimmerman historically traces the development, deterioration and ultimate disintegration of the family in a variety of cultures separated by time, geography and customs. He points out how, in Greece and Rome, individual rights ultimately brought the demise of the family unit. From his study of these cultures, Zimmerman describes eight patterns of behavior that typified the last stage of the disintegration of each culture:

> 1. Marriage loses its sacredness and is frequently broken by divorce. Such divorces do not consist of guilty or innocent parties but simply of two people who wish to "terminate" a relationship.
>
> 2. The traditional meaning of the marriage ceremony is lost. Alternate forms of marriage arise, and individualized marriage contracts are advocated. Pseudo-intellectuals begin to theorize that in order to save marriage, its form must be changed to a less strict, looser, more companionate structure.
>
> 3. Feminist movements abound. Women lose their inclination for childbearing and child-rearing; and the birth rate decreases.
>
> 4. There is an increased public disrespect for parents, parenthood, and authority in general so that parenthood becomes harder for those who still try to rear children.
>
> 5. There is an increase in juvenile delinquency, promiscuity, and rebellion.
>
> 6. There is a refusal of people with traditional marriages to accept family responsibilities while others go free. The hostility of pseudo-intellectuals to the family soon spreads to the common people, sealing the doom of the society.
>
> 7. There is an increasing desire for and acceptance of adultery.

8. There is a tolerance for and spread of sexual perversions of all kinds, especially homosexuality but including many others such as rape, incest, bestiality, etc. This generally marks the final stage of societal disintegration.

Keep in mind that Zimmerman wrote this in 1947. He was describing the final stages of the family unit and the society it ceased to function in. The home is in trouble . . . serious trouble.

It is with these sobering words that I respectfully offer three summary points and my recommendations to Congress for your consideration. First, the summary points:

1. We need to stabilize the family. I believe that we in the evangelical Christian community can offer some viable solutions to the needs of the family. Stability needs to be sought from all sectors of our society. The family and its needs must be at the top of our national concerns list.

2. We need to pursue the truth. Millions of Americans today need to know there is an alternative to society's present plan for marriage. They need to know absolutes and truth do exist. They need to know right standards for daily living in a free country. Millions of Christians believe this absolute Truth is found in the Bible. In our efforts to pursue freedom apart from standards and truth, we are becoming enslaved. We must turn to the words of Christ, Who said, "Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall set you free."

3. We need to fear Divine judgment. As a member of the religious community, I believe we are presently under the judgment of God as a nation for our failure to hold to the truth. The current breakdown of the institution of marriage could very well be one of those judgments. We must protect what is close to God's heart - the family, human life, righteous judgments, and moral standards.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I respectfully submit the following recommendations to this Subcommittee:

This Subcommittee should cosponsor legislation, through The Caucus on the Family, that would designate 1985 through the year 2000 The Era for Reconstruction of the American Home. I suggest that you encourage the appointment of a commission in the Department of Health and Human Services to study ways to protect and encourage the traditional family unit. Their findings could be implemented during The Era of Reconstruction of the American Home.

I am recommending this fifteen year "Era" to straighten that which has been bent. Deterioration of the family has taken years to evolve. It will take much concentrated energy, resources, and prayer over these fifteen years to begin the process of restoration.

During this fifteen year span all branches of Federal, State, and local government should seek to fortify the traditional family unit. This could be accomplished thru a cooperative effort between government agencies and the private sector. The Church must be thoroughly challenged to take its place in the renovation of the American family.

As a part of this Era of Reconstruction, I would ask you to begin a clean-up of our nation's pornography laws, and judicial interpretation, which undermine the morality of the family. More strident divorce laws would also be essential.

I would recommend that, in this era, a resolution be passed, appealing to the conscience of all media producers, for a return to morality in television programming, movies and printed media. I would encourage a Family Summit at the White House which would include the President of the United States, Congressional leaders, and representatives of the Judicial system who would meet with the board members, executive producers, and writers of the major television networks, movie studios and recording studios; writers and publishers of major literary corporations and publishing houses; and the chief executive officers of the largest one hundred corporations in America for the purpose of entreating them to help in rebuilding values, morals, and models in our society.

I would submit that this Subcommittee use its oversight responsibilities to look into ways the Judicial Branch of our government could be more responsive in protection of the traditional family unit, and discriminate in favor of the nuclear family.

I would encourage Congressional support of the Office of Families for a government-sponsored pro-family campaign at businesses. This campaign could be used to raise the value and the priority of the traditional family, and challenge businesses to evaluate their objectives in light of the long-term needs of the family.

I suggest that Congress appeal to educators throughout our country to teach about the family within the context of an absolute moral standard.

I conclude my recommendations by asking that Congress lead our nation by proclaiming an Annual Day of Prayer for the Family during the Era of Reconstruction of the American Home. This would be a day to beseech God to heal our families and restore strength to our most basic unit of society.

FINAL STATEMENT

According to Arthur J. Norton, Assistant Chief of the Population Division of the Census Bureau, six out of every ten children born today (59%) will spend part of their first eighteen years of life with only one parent. Yet today we are spending millions of dollars in research to find a cure for a disease that is taking the lives of only one out of four Americans - cancer. I believe there is an even greater cancer spreading its way throughout the land of the living. That cancer is the disintegrating family. This disease will leave it's indelible imprint on six of every ten Americans being born at this minute. What will we do together to solve this problem? I am asking God to give Congress the wisdom to deal with these critical family issues that we are facing. I pray we are all successful.

Thank you for the privilege of testifying before Congress. If I, or any of my colleagues, can be of further assistance to you, please contact me:

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Frank and Gay White
Former Governor and
First Lady of Arkansas

CAMPUS CRUSADE FOR
CHRIST INTERNATIONAL
Dr. William R. Bright
President and Founder

October 28, 1983

Senator Orrin G. Hatch
United States Senate
Committee on Human Resources, Room 4230
Washington, District of Columbia 20510

Dear Senator Hatch:

Thank you for the privilege of amending my verbal and written testimony. I appreciate the opportunity of clearing up some wordy sentences and strengthening my written statement.

I am returning Senator Denton's questions unanswered because my testimony covers almost every point.

Thank you, again, for the privilege of testifying. I would like to receive a copy of the hearing manuscripts once they are completed.

Yours for godly homes,

Dennis Rainey
National Director

DR/tgk
Enclosures

Questions for Mr. Rainey Submitted by Senator Denton

1. Do you have any examples of the government encroaching on the affairs and authority of the family?
2. What makes you believe so firmly that much of the solution for the problems faced by the family rests in the spiritual realm?
3. How crucial is the survival of the family to our society?
4. How have recent economic conditions affected the family?

Senator DENTON. To avoid neglecting to include a remark or two of my own in the record, I should note that it is not only a problem of cleaning up our porn laws, as you mentioned, but since this was brought up by other witnesses, there is a tremendous question today about enforcement of existing pornographic laws. I am aware of the most flagrant case imaginable, which just took place in New York City a few months ago, resulting in a judge to whom the case was appealed twice negating the findings of the other court and successfully doing so. It involved child pornography, violations of Customs laws, not paying import taxes; it was considered the classic case for getting into the entire pornographic picture. We no longer have that opportunity. It is gone. So enforcement is a problem, as well as cleaning up the wording of the law.

There have been some things said which I want to make sure that I as the chairman of the subcommittee remark on for balance.

We have mentioned the blacks, and I believe we would all have to agree that in view of their history in this Nation, the spirituality evident from the black spirituals, the unpublicized and unhonored publicly matriarchal and even patriarchal heroism among the blacks which, as a southerner, I have seen, needs to be mentioned as well as the problem of some of the ghetto manifestations mentioned.

There has been a preeminent emphasis on Judeo-Christian ethics, and we have had more Christian spokesmen, in spite of the invitation to the Rabbi, but both Judeo and Christian ethics certainly are clear on this subject and differ very much from what you might call contemporary mores. The Islamic faith, another religion which has some footing in the United States, takes a much harsher view toward adultery, for example. We had the recent case of capital punishment in Saudi Arabia dramatized on American television, and I had unfortunately been misquoted as being in favor of capital punishment. That is about as far from the truth as some of the other things that I have been quoted as saying. But I do mention that some societies, particularly small, tribal groups, still consider adultery a capital crime, because they view it, in a small grouping of families in a tribe, as causing more social destabilization than a single murder would. And I believe that it is worth mentioning, because of the tremendous change in attitudes that we have undergone in the country.

Another fact which must be brought out and mentioned in the record at this point, is a Utah law which requires not only parental notification but, as I understand it, parental consent, before minors receive prescription contraceptives. The opposition of the courts to ask legislation, brought out when Miss Midge Decter indicates that they have written this approach off, and those judicial opinion by no means represent the will of the American people, nor the consensus. There may be a consensus among some judges or among certain lawmakers, but it does not reflect a public consensus. Polls support my views. I cannot reveal the result of one Gallup poll which will soon be released, but I believe it will reveal the falsity of that which is presented to us as the consensus among the American public. I hope the result of the publication of such polls has an impact here in the legislature, where we tend to read certain newspapers or watch certain television programs which give a false impression in matters like these.

The last thing that should be mentioned for the record at this point, I think it was Dr. Sacks who mentioned it earlier, or one of the previous witnesses, is not only a United States phenomenon, but one which exists throughout the Western world. Having just come back from West Germany, I was impressed by the fact that both the United States and West Germany are not only running out of families, we may also run out of people. My information is that to sustain our population we require, a reproduction rate of 2.1 considering the mortality rates, et cetera. In the United States we have a reproduction rate currently of 1.8. West Germany has a reproduction rate of 1.2, which is already presenting that nation with unprecedented and monumental problems respecting the next decade or two of social security, military manpower, work force manpower, womanpower, et cetera.

So we are talking about not only a crisis in the United States respecting the family; we are talking about national survival, and the survival of Western civilization, in my belief. And I think it is borne out by the facts.

I will mention for the record, too, since we agree we have a shortage of statistics in contemporary research, that among men who are renowned as secular observers of history, such as Arnold Toynbee, Bruno Bettelheim, French historian Ernest Renan, this survival question was is central to a discussion of the importance of family. Without reading their remarks, or those of Will and Ariel Durant, with which many of us are already familiar, I will ask that they be included in the record as part of this hearing, because I think they represent a very substantial amplification of that which history and indeed, a broader spectrum of statistics indicate regarding sexual freedom and social decline, and I direct that they be so entered.

[The following was received for the record:]

I hope that both proponents and critics will realize that our aim is to help America's families and youth maintain traditional and, indeed, rational values that preserve the health of our society as a whole. Others, and not necesarily moralists, have taken the position that the societies err grievously when they abandon their youth to sexual permissiveness.

-- Dr. J. D. Unwin, former University of Oklahoma professor and author of the work, Sex and Culture, undertook massive studies in primitive and civilized societies that reveal a distinct correlation between increased sexual freedom and social decline.

-- Arnold Toynbee, another anthropologist and historian, said, "A culture which postpones rather than stimulates sexual experiences in young adults is a culture more prone to progress."

-- Bruno Bettelheim, noted psychoanalyst, says, "If a society does not relatively taboo sex, children will grow up in relative sexual freedom, but so far history has shown such a society cannot create culture or civilization -- it remains primitive. It isn't able to develop family nor the self-discipline required to maintain family." Further, he says, "there is no example of a community which has retained its high position on the cultural scale after less rigorous sexual customs have replaced more restrictive ones."

-- The French Historian, Ernest Renan, said, "What gives one people the victory over another, who has it to a lesser degree, is chastity." (The Human Life Review, Spring 1978, p. 71).

-- Will and Ariel Durant in their monumental history of mankind observed that, "sex is like a river of fire -- it must be banked and cooled by a hundred restraints otherwise both the individual and the group will be destroyed."

-- "Sensuality is the vice of young men and of old nations." (W.E.H. Lecky, History of European Morals, 1869).

Senator DENTON. Father Preister?

Father PREISTER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to begin by commenting on the title of my testimony, which I entitled, "The Challenge of the Changing Family," because like you, I am concerned about the difficulties our families are facing today, but I believe the current situation is a challenge; it is both a danger and an opportunity for us to do more for positive support for our families.

I belong to one of those changing families. My great-grandparents, all eight of them, many of whom I knew, migrated to Nebraska from Germany in the 19th century; they were all farmers. I am 1 of 11 children. I am one of over 100 first cousins. My brothers and sisters are now scattered from the east coast to the west coast. None of my family have been able to continue farming today and now live in cities. My grandma still lives in the same town in which she was born. I tell her that she is a dinosaur, that those kinds of people are going out of existence. My grandpa said it was time for him to die, because a handshake could no longer count as a contract.

So my family life, and all of our families, have significantly changed in our lifetime. I think many families feel confused and threatened by it. They do not have an understanding of why it is going about.

In my written testimony, I have attempted to outline from an historical perspective the change in families and in society over the last several hundred years, and that testimony is very consistent with what Dr. Thornton presented this morning. Drawing on that historical perspective, I would like to make some conclusions about the causes of the changes in family life today.

First of all, it is my belief that many, if not most, of the changes we are seeing today in family life are really the result of families having to adjust their structure and their functions to a very rapidly changing society, specifically from an agriculture one to an industrial one to a post-industrial one. These societal changes have meant that most of our families today are mobile and urban, requiring them to make tremendous adjustments. Most importantly, the shift requiring families to move from being an economic unit of production, instead to be a unit of consumption of goods, services, and information has drastically altered how our families function.

Second, I believe that every societal age with its own family structure and functions has its own advantages and problems. The strength of the agricultural family was its cohesion. The strength of the industrial and post-industrial family is its adaptability.

Nevertheless, in agricultural society, individual rights, most usually those of women and children, were frequently abused. And in these times, the high price we are paying for our adaptability and individuality, frequently taken to extreme, is the loss of our social cohesion and individual accountability, as well as frequent emotional scarring produced by family breakup.

Third, many of the changes we are witnessing are here to stay. Our economic system means that our families will remain small because of mobility; we will have a diversity of family forms; generally, two incomes will be required to maintain a middle class standard of living, and family roles will continue to shift in households because both parents or the only parent are employed.

Fourth, besides these structural changes we are seeing in family life, I think the biggest change families are having to face is the change in functions. Families still have the responsibility for the socialization and nurturing of their children, for religious socialization, for religious values, for education and health care. And yet, there is another function that has been added today to families, and that is a coordinating function. It is a very complex society in which we are living. There are many institutions with which we have to negotiate. And this adds a tremendous burden to families—a burden that is new in the last 100 years, and is complicated if both or the only parent is working.

Fifth, we need to keep a family life cycle perspective in thinking about families and realize there are important issues and pressures on family members which vary at different points in the family life cycle.

Sixth, should we be worried about what is happening to our families? As in most complex situations, I think the answer is "yes and no." Some of the changes we are experiencing have some advantages. The changing roles in family members required by women working have some positive results. For example, who can doubt that those fathers who, as a result, are choosing to be more involved in the nurture and care of their children, benefit both themselves and their children? Some of the changes cannot be reversed, unless we as a society choose to radically alter the direction in which we have been going in the last several hundred years. We have chosen to create a mobile and urban society, which will mean that our families will remain small and have less access to the supports of an extended family system, and some of the changes and stresses families are experiencing are not helpful to them, and they need to be addressed.

Senator DENTON. Father, this is the second time you have mentioned mobility inevitably meaning smallness in terms of the family. I do not ask this facetiously, but I do not understand what you mean. I moved about every 1½ years, and we had seven children, in spite of the fact that I was incarcerated for 7 years and 7 months of my wife's fertile time, so I do not understand what you are getting at.

Father PREISTER. I am linking mobility and small family size, and I am not simply talking about the size of the nuclear family, but the extended system. It is a lot easier to move father and mother and three or four children than to move father and mother and extended system.

Senator DENTON. Yes, I understand. In other words, you relate that to the movement of the entire extended family——.

Father PREISTER. That is right, and the lack of support we have today from our extended families, because we are not near them.

Senator DENTON. OK, thank you.

Father PREISTER. I would like to address briefly some possible remedies and the challenge we face in attempting to do them.

What do family members need in order to be able to do their jobs? They need income, they need information, they need preparation, and they need support from others, especially when they need to meet unanticipated events; they need professional assistance when they falter. How can we help them? I am going to suggest three ways.

The first is education. Clearly, one of the advantages of the changes we are experiencing today in family life is manifested by those who are choosing to be what I call "intentional" about their family lives. Increasingly, we must help those who are choosing to live in a family to do so consciously and with deliberation, and perhaps our best avenue for doing this is through education. We need to realize that it is not easy to build a strong family, and some needed skills are not automatically learned in our society today. One of the most positive developments, I think, in this area in recent years has been in the American Roman Catholic Church in regard to marriage preparation. We have just completed a study that indicates that 90 percent of the dioceses of the United States now have marriage preparation programs of some depth available for couples marrying, and the majority of these are mandatory. About 60 percent of all persons married in the Catholic Church in the last few years have gone through a marriage preparation program, which accounts for at least 10 percent of the entire population of the United States marrying.

These programs, I think, are important not simply because of the information they impart to participants, but because they also provide an opportunity and a setting for persons to think through their values and their needs in regard to marriage and family life and to intentionally make decisions and order their lives consistent with those decisions and values. They validate that the choice of intentionally making a family is a good one; they verify that there are radical differences between people who center their lives on themselves and those who center their lives on their families, networks of relationships, and God.

The second remedy that I think we need to address is to provide those services for families who are experiencing difficulties. All families of all socioeconomic and religious backgrounds need help from others at some time or another. One problem I think we have to address in the provision is some of what you have addressed in your legislation on adolescent family life, indeed, that we address the family and not simply the individual. But we need also to develop services that address other specific kinds of problems today, and the first of these is the development in America of family therapy, a field that has developed terrifically in the last 10 years, and I think quite well. The efforts and experience of marriage and family therapists who believe in the importance of marriage and family life need to be validated. They have equipped themselves with the skills to help troubled families, and yet our system has not yet adjusted to utilizing this family support. For example, family counseling technically still cannot be paid for through most insurance policies, unless an individual family member receives a diagnosis, and a therapist surreptitiously sees the family as part of the treatment.

Another very interesting and important development, I think, in the field of family services is the development of family mediation, which Dr. Sacks has already talked about. This is a very important development which on occasion—perhaps as much as 30 percent of the time—helps couples reconcile, and when divorces do take place, help those take place with less trauma to the children than is currently happening in many situations, and yet this service is available only through a very small percentage of our court systems and legal service centers.

Finally, I want to conclude by addressing families' conditions and environments, more specifically, the relationship between families and institutions. Today, there is a very close and dynamic relationship between families and those institutions with which families come into daily contact—the Government, schools, the health care system, and the workplace.

The family, as Dr. Lindsay remarked, is a stronger agent of educational success than the school, a stronger teacher of religious values than the church. And yet, institutions frequently today are vying with the family for the fulfillment of those functions. I think what is needed instead is a partnership. Institutions can empower or disempower families. They can form a partnership. We need to look at those institutions. First, we need to do it on the level of the Federal Government. We need to develop a stronger family perspective in drafting and passing policy, legislation, and regulations and in implementing programs so that minimally, we can insure that they have no adverse impact on family life. I think a good case in point is the current Office for Families in HHS, which is monitoring the policy and program developments of the various divisions of that agency to make sure that they are family-oriented. But we also need to look at the other institutions with which families interact: the school system, the health care system, and so on. Can they be renewed to be more active participants with families, instead of replacing families?

We have attempted to develop at Catholic University a process called "Family Impact Assessment" which can serve as a self-study tool to these institutions so they are better partners.

I will conclude with the earlier question: Should we be worried about what is happening to families. I personally believe that despite the trauma many families are experiencing today, American family life is dynamic and vital. The family is the most adaptive social system in the history of humankind. We have seen it adapt its structure and functions over the centuries, as needed for its members in society, and we are witnessing this again today.

But what we have to insure, particularly at the level of the government, is that minimally, we do not make the family's job more difficult. If we can do that much, then we are doing a great deal. In order to do this, we simply must develop a greater sensitivity to the needs of the family as a unit than we are currently doing.

Senator Denton. Thank you, Father.

[The prepared statement of Father Preister along with questions and responses follow:]

REVISED

TESTIMONY

"The Challenge of the Changing Family:
What We Can Do to Help"

Presented to

The Subcomittee on Family and Human Services

Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources

Steven Preister, Director

The National Center for Family Studies

The Catholic University of America

Washington, D. C.

September 22, 1983

My name is Steven Preister. I am director of the National Center for Family Studies at The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 20064, 202/635-5453 . The Center is an interdisciplinary unit of Catholic University conducting research, training and some select services in family policy, family services, and family ministries. I am a social worker, a teacher of family studies, and a Catholic priest. My work experience includes parish work, family counseling, family human services, director of a family service agency, university teaching, and research.

In my testimony this morning, I will briefly sketch some of the historical themes that help us to understand the current changes in family life. However, I want to particularly focus upon possible remedies, specifically some exciting new developments which include marriage preparation, assistance to families in times of stress, and assistance to the institutions with which families most frequently deal so that these are more family oriented in their service delivery.

Let me begin by commenting on the title of my testimony, which is "The Challenge of the Changing Family." Like you, I am concerned about the difficulties our families are facing today. However, I believe the current situation is a challenge. It is both a danger, as well as an opportunity for us to more positively support the families of our nation, which are our most valuable resource.

I. Incidence and Causes of Family Breakdown

A. The Current Family Situation in the United States [1]

As family members, family workers, and policy makers, we have been tooquick to wring our hands and have not been deeply reflective about the changes occurring in family life today. This is not because we are unreflective in nature or because we do not care; we simply have not had the necessary historical perspective and in-depth understanding of what is really going on.

As a result, we are often left debating whether indeed the family is changing, whether it is is in crisis, etc., a discussion which is rather philosophical in nature and which does not assist us in determining ramifications in 1990, 2000, and beyond, or in deciding what needs to be done.

However, the reality is quite clear at this point: while generation after generation have complained that the family is in crisis, contemporary American family life is significantly and rapidly changing:

Only 13 percent of the nation's families include a working father, a stay-at-home mother, and one or more children. Sixty percent of all women with school-age children are employed.

There has been a 65 percent increase in divorce in the

US between 1970 and 1980, following a similar increase in the 1960s. A couple who marries today has a 50 percent chance of remaining together until old age. Although today just as many marriages are ended annually (about 34.5 per 1000) as a century ago, divorce as a reason for dissolution has risen from 3.5% to 44% in that time.

Between 1970 and 1980, there was a 157 percent increase in unmarried persons living together and a 64 percent increase in persons living alone.

Twenty percent of US children now live in a single-parent household, and nearly half will do so before they finish high school. Most of these households are female-headed, and a majority are below the poverty-line, leading to what some have called "the feminization of poverty."

By 1990, the combined total of stepfamilies and single-parent families will be higher than the number of intact families.

Two million children qualify as battered. Twenty million live with an alcoholic parent. One million run away each year. One out of nine youths will be arrested before the age of 18. The suicide rate among 15-to-19-year-olds has tripled in less than 20 years.

One in every six American babies is now born out of wedlock, 50 percent more than a decade ago, and most to mothers past their teens.

Nearly half of the US population was living in a different house or apartment in 1980 than in 1975.

These changes in family life do not seem to be ending, and, instead, it appears that they will continue: a recent study, The Nation's Families: 1960-1990 (1980), made some startling projections about what American households will look like before the end of the century, based on past and current population data. Authors Masnick and Bane project the following four trends:

1. While viewed as abnormal, the marital and familial patterns of the current generation, characterized by fewer marriages, more divorces, and lower and later fertility rates, are, in fact, consistent with long-term trends. It was, in fact, their parents' generation which deviated from the long historical norm. We can expect a continuation of the phenomena of fewer and later marriages, higher divorce rates, and lower fertility rates. [For example, from 1960 to 1977, the average age of marriage for first time brides rose from 20.3 to 21.1, and for first-time grooms from 22.8 to 23. While the marriage rate in 1980 is up 2% from 1979, the fifth consecutive year of increase (American Family, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 5), this is really the result of divorces: the rate of remarriages is double that of first marriages, which has stayed fairly constant. Divorced persons have the highest marriage rate of any group.]

2. Between now and 1990, households made up of married couples will increase only slightly in number, while other types of households will increase dramatically. No one arrangement will be typical, which will lead to demands for a wide range of

different kinds of housing, consumer goods, and public and private services.

3. Fewer and fewer households will have children present. [For example, in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area, 40% of all households are currently childless.] Almost two-thirds of all households in the US will be childless by 1990.

4. Although more wives are working and their contribution to family income is presently small and has not changed (about 25% of the total family income), a revolution in the impact of women's work on family income is on the horizon, as women increasingly work full-time, continuously, life-long, in careers and with salaries more commensurate with men's. Women's dramatic entry into the labor force has had and will continue to have significant impact on family life and roles.

B. Viewing These Changes from a Historical Perspective

These data and projections hold enormous implications for our nation. We must begin with the questions: What do these changes mean? How do we make sense of them?

In light of these changes, some experts have taken the position that the family is in crisis or that it is dying. Its importance, however, is not declining. A recent Gallup Poll (1980) indicated that the majority of Americans believe their families are the most important part of their lives. More than 90 percent of Americans marry at some time in their lives

(Krucoff, 1981). Also, the divorce rate may, in fact, give witness to the rising expectations people hold for marriage and family life. The high remarriage rate would support such a position. Eighty percent of divorced persons remarry, men remarrying on the average of one year after their previous marriage, and women, an average of 14-1/2 months (Krucoff, 1981).

To us, living in the midst of the changes, these family phenomena may appear very confusing or as random chance. But looking at social change and the family in a historical context, much of the current situation does make sense. What some will call the decline of the family appears, in fact, to be the adjustment of the family in its structure and functions to a rapidly-changing society. This historical perspective debunks various theories of a covert, world-wide, or Satanic conspiracy against the family which is so popular today in some circles.

Today's situations and requirements which are new or problematic have their roots in the shift into industrialism and post-industrialism, with a concomitant urban, mobile, and technological society. This becomes more evident by examining the family's functions, structures, and processes in relation to society in each of the three historical periods proposed today by various social scientists (Toffler, 1980). These are designated as the agricultural period, the industrial wave, and the third and current wave, called variously the post-industrial period, the systems age, the technological age, or the information society. Conclusions drawn below are generalizations due to the scope of this paper, and it should be kept in mind that these three periods overlap and that we certainly see aspects and manifestations of all three in today's world.

1. The Family and Agricultural Society

At the time of the American Revolution, the population of the US was primarily agriculturally based, with only 3 percent living in cities. The movement to urbanization was relatively slow: even in 1920, 33 percent of Americans still lived on farms (Shearer, January, 1982).

Families in agricultural societies were primarily producers, and, as such, one of their primary functions was economic. The family was both an economic unit of production and an economic unit of survival; the survival of each family member was dependent on the survival of the family farm or business. In a family with a small farm, for example, it would have been understood that both sons would be needed throughout their lives if the family was to survive and the family farm to endure, whether both sons wanted this occupation or not. Or it would have been understood that to divide the family farm would bring economic disaster to the whole family, and so the second son might go into a monastery.

Families in agricultural societies also tended, because of their extended structure, to be rather self-sufficient.

Family members assumed a major responsibility for the functions of vocational education, socialization, health care, social control, employment, recreation, and religion.

Shorter (1975) has demonstrated that families in a agricultural western Europe consisted of three forms or structures: (1) the conjugal family, consisting of a husband and wife and children; these were the poorest families, and constituted the smallest percentage of the total; (2) the stem family, consisting of a husband, wife, and children, and one set of grandparents; (3) the large multiple family household (representative of the middle class and constituting the largest percentage of the total), made up of husband, wife and children, extended laterally (brothers and sisters of either husband or wife), vertically (a set of grandparents), and including unrelated persons such as apprentices, workers, orphans, and widows.n

The family of agricultural societies can be called the model of the family as community, because that is what it was: it was fairly self-sufficient and its members fulfilled in a major way those various functions of families (Lasch, 1977). This model is also appropriate for these families, because there were few distinctions between the objectives of the community and those of family; because of the presence of community members (boarders, apprentices, etc.) in the family; because the community was made up of similar households; and because people in this social order are essentially united, despite all the particular different conditions that appear to separate them

(Shorter, pp. 18-21).

The processes of these family systems -- the values and rules which support family and societal structure so that the functions may be accomplished -- are very important to review. First, the needs of the family (and the community) take precedence over the needs of individuals. Thus, marriage is a matter of the two joining families, not the personal desires, attractions, and love of the marrying partners. Secondly, authority and custom are essential for good order and fulfillment of functions. Within the household, this meant patriarchal rule over the other family members (Shorter, ibid.)

2. Families in Industrial Society

The advent of industrialism, symbolized by the steam engine, meant greater access to profit and competition for more persons, and this massive movement had many effects on family life.

First was the shift toward urbanization. Today, in contrast with our beginnings, only 2.7 percent of the US population lives on farms (Shearer, January, 1982), and the shift to city living is for all intents and purposes completed, with over 60 percent living in metropolitan areas of at least 50,000 (Shearer, September, 1981).

Rearranging our families around an industrial way of life required some adjustments. Families in industrial societies are not considered producers but consumers of goods. Even the economic value of productive household work is not currently figured into assessments of the nation's economic performance and the gross national product.

The needs and values of a corporate and professional system and the needs of families are not always congruent. Since the family is the smaller unit, it is often (but does not have to be) the dependent variable, tending to adjust to the needs of industry and business rather than the other way around.

One example of modern family adjustment to industrial society is mobility. Industrialism in our Western form demands a mobile society: we move to where we find work. This has produced many effects on families. A mobile society requires a shrinking of the family, from arrangements of kin in extended networks of support, to a nuclear, more insulated system. This is not the result of birth control per se, this shrinking of the family; it is the result of industrialization and concomitant mobility. Our rate of mobility reinforces this small family structure, and family shrinkage continues today: the average US household declined from 3.14 persons to 2.75 from 1970 to 1980 (Chicago Tribune, 1981).

One of the major changes in family life resulting from industrialism is a function shift. As less of the extended network was available because of shrinking size and mobility for the regular, daily support of family functions (such as support in child care, socialization, caring for the sick, the handicapped, and the aging), more institutions were created with jurisdiction or participation in those functions which were previously the primary domain of the family. No longer is the model of the family that of a community, but now we have the model of the family as refuge. The family now looks to itself to provide two functions: (1) a compensatory function -- those things it cannot get from institutions; (2) mutual support or love, and a haven against an impersonalized, institutionalized and often unresponsive social system (Lasch, 1977). This has, of course, put unprecedented demands and expectations on marriage and family life in terms of what it is supposed to deliver for fulfillment of individual family members.

Now at the height of industrialism, we have witnessed the tendency (common to all larger systems) of institutions -- which were originally created to support families -- to replace the family in the provision of functions such as socialization, education, health care, social control, recreation, employment, religion, and so on. These institutions tend to validate the right of the family to the two functions of the family as refuge delineated above -- i.e., support and compensation, but also to suggest that they can do the other functions better than families can. Thus, family members were often viewed as a hindrance to the healing of a sick person (limited visiting hours, exclusion of children from hospitals, non-participation of family members in birthing, etc.) in the health care system, as one example of such an attitude. The Church, as a societal institution, also bought into and participated in this function shift: religious education of children was viewed as the job for the "professionals" in the Church (ministers, priests and sisters), and not the job of parents, except to reinforce the efforts made in school and church.

Another result of the Industrial Revolution is a major value shift in Western society. As mentioned earlier, the primary value of the agricultural social order was that the needs of the family (and the community) took precedence over the needs of the individual. Industrialism helped change that value equation. Gradually, over the last centuries, Western civilization has proposed that the needs of individuals, and their right for independence, self-fulfillment, and personal happiness have more weight than the collective needs of families.

This value shift is reflected in the US Constitution, written at a time when a new philosophy was arising out of the experience of the Industrial Revolution. It is a constitution which stresses the rights and needs of individuals: all men are created equal . . . life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness as inalienable rights. The word family does not even appear in the Constitution.

Other values, specifically those of romantic love and the stress on privacy (Shorter, pp. 18-21), arose concomitantly. They have stressed the tendencies toward individual choice, a more nuclear and insulated family unit, and higher expectations of individual satisfaction from marriage and family life, which bonds, if disappointing, can be "broken."

3. Families in the Information Society

Some social scientists hold that we are entering a new society, and, as in most transitions, the changes are dramatic and traumatic.

In the information society, families remain consumers, but they are increasingly consumers not only of goods, but also of services and information, which are costly. This has reinforced the need for two incomes to maintain a middle-class standard of living.

Equally important, the new technological revolution holds the potential for diversity and the decentralization of information which Toffler (1980) predicts may return the family to a unit of economic production through the electronic cottage industry. In the meantime, however, we will continue to see the kinds of changes in family life already extant, and perhaps even more as we make the transition to another societal order.

C. Some Conclusions

Having reviewed social change and the family from an historical perspective, I would like to draw some conclusions before recommending some possible remedies needed today to support families in their functioning.

1. Many, if not most, of the changes we are seeing today

in family life are the result of families having to adjust their structure and their functions to a rapidly changing society, specifically from an agricultural society to an industrial to a post-industrial one. These societal changes have meant that most of our families today are mobile and urban, requiring them to make tremendous adjustments. Most importantly, the shift requiring families to move from being an economic unit of production to a unit of consumption of goods, services and information, has drastically altered families' structures and functions.

2. Each societal structure with its family structure and functions has its advantages and problems. The strength of the agricultural family was its cohesion, the strength of the industrial and post-industrial family is its adaptability. Nevertheless, in agricultural society, individual rights, most usually those of women and children, were frequently abused. And in these times, the high price we are paying for our adaptability and individuality, frequently taken to extreme, is the loss of our social cohesion and individual accountability, as well as the frequent emotional scarring produced by family breakup.

3. Many of these changes we are witnessing are here to stay. Our economic system means that our families will remain small because of mobility, we will have a diversity of family forms, generally two incomes will be required to maintain a middle class standard of family living, and family roles will continue to shift in households because both parents, or the only

parent, are employed.

4. Besides the structural changes we are seeing in family life (massive growth of one parent families, blended families, etc.), the biggest change families are having to adjust to today is the change in their function.

Lasch (1977) says the model of the family has changed from the family as a community to the family as a refuge, a compensatory function: i.e., families are to provide their members with what they cannot get from institutions. The Carnegie Council's report (1977) says that the primary function of the family today is a coordinating one -- helping members negotiate with the myriad institutions and programs to obtain the services they need. Pollack (1967) says that "the function which truly has been taken away from the family by other institutions is not education, health care, or homemaking, but the autonomy of setting its own standards."

These opinions, which vary somewhat, point out the change in family functions that is occurring today, and all are getting at a similar theme. For the family through the course of its life cycle tasks of adapting to a changing society and simultaneously meeting the needs of its members are enormously complex ones. These tasks are even more complex when we think about how many institutions the family must deal with, and the power of these institutions over families. As Pollack (ibid.) has written: "Here is a new issue for family life in modern times: the defense of its own power against the expert, the emotional security necessary to protect itself against becoming a dependent variable of changing opinions in the fields of education, health care, and public welfare. The discovery that all experts can make mistakes, that one may have the right to be poor, and the right to be sick is one of the challenges of the future for the American family, confronted by experts who can and do change their opinions as a matter of normal professional development . . . . The twentieth century model presents a loss of autonomy, a being put on the defense, a position of cultural lag, a being exposed to the demands standards set by experts who are equipped with the power to render service which the family wants but which, without compliance with these standards, the family cannot have."

5. We need to keep a life cycle perspective in thinking about the family and realize that there are important issues and pressures on family members which vary at different points of the family life cycle. For example, families clearly bear the major responsibility for care of children but also have considerable responsibilities and concern for elderly frail relatives and handicapped or chronically ill adult members. However, the ability of families to care for these dependent members is undergoing significant change with smaller families and increasing numbers of women in the labor force.

6. Should be we worried about what is happening to American families? As in most complex situations, the answer is both no and yes.

Some of the changes we are experiencing have some advantages. The changing roles in family members, required by women working, can have some positive results. For example, who can doubt that those fathers who as a result are choosing to be more involved in the nurture and care of their children benefit both themselves and their children?

Some of the changes cannot be reversed, unless we as a society choose to radically alter the direction in which we have been going for three hundred years. We have chosen to create a mobile and urban society, which will mean that our families will remain small and have less access to the supports of an extended family system.

Some of the changes and stresses families are experiencing are not helpful to them or society, and these are the ones we need to address. How to address them, however is a difficult and complex task.

II. Possible Remedies: The Challenge

What do family members need to be able to do their job? They need income, information, preparation, and support from others especially when they need to meet unanticipated events, professional assistance when they falter, etc. How can we help them? I want to suggest some ways:

A. Education -- Preparation for Marriage

Clearly one of the advantages of the changes we are experiencing today in family life is manifested by those who are choosing to be what I call "intentional" about their family lives. Contrasted with an earlier time when there were strong expectations that almost every one married and the family life cycle was charted and guided by clearer societal and community expectations, today our society is characterized by many more choices. Increasingly, we must help those who are choosing to live in a family to do so consciously and with deliberation. Perhaps our best avenue for doing so is through education. We need to realize that it is not easy to build a strong family, and some needed skills are not automatically learned in our society.

One of the most positive developments in this area in recent years has been the efforts in the American Roman Catholic Church in regard to marriage preparation. At Catholic University, we have just completed a study which found that today 90% of the Catholic dioceses of the United States provide in-depth marriage preparation programs to those seeking marriage in the Church, and this preparation is mandatory in the majority of the dioceses. About 60% of all persons marrying in the Catholic Church in America in the last two years went through some significant least 7-10% of all persons who married in the U. S. in those years, and when you control for second marriages in those years, the percentage of persons prepared for first marriage is even higher. Our study has identifed some of these programs strengths and weaknesses, and this information has been fed back to the dioceses to further improve the programs.

Additional data indicates that the marrying couples and their parents have experienced these programs to be very helpful to their establishment of a good relationship and communication. We also found the need for specialized programs for particular groups: e.g., ethnic groups, ethnic, cultural, and religiously mixed marriages, older marriages, etc., and for developing follow-up programs and supports for those already married. Based on this data, we are in the process of preparing models of marriage preparation for second marriages, since these are on the upswing and the data indicate that these marriages fail at a higher rate than first marriages.

These programs are important not simply because of the information they impart to the participants. More importantly, they provide an opportunity and a setting for persons to think through their values and needs in regard to marriage and family life,and to intentionally make decisions and order their lives consistent with those decisions and values. They validate the choice of intentionally making a family. They verify that there are radical differences between people who center their lives in themselves, and those who center their lives in their families, networks of relationships, and God (Novak, 1976). The media, the youth-values of the nation, consumerism, advertising and the corporate system stress the lifestyle of radical individualism and diminish the moral and economic importance of families. In contrast, educational family life programs help promote an opposite view which holds that family life is the most important work that most of us are likely to do in our lifetime, and that the roles of husband, wife, father, mother, children, extended family are crucial to the future of society.

This kind of education must also be extended to other pre- and post-marriage settings, particularly for those persons who do not naturally turn to the churches. Greater efforts need to be made to have courses and programs more available in colleges and elsewhere. Education and support efforts for the already married, such as marriage encounter programs, mutual self-help groups around common concerns, etc. need to be available to help couples throughout the family life cycle.

B. Supports for Families Experiencing Difficulties

All families of all socio-economic and religious backgrounds need help from others at some time or another. Many will encounter the need for professional help. It is crucial, however, that these professional services are delivered in a way that really incorporates a family perspective and works with the family as a unit when this is necessary. There have been some exciting developments in two new family services in recent years for families in difficulty which do incorporate this perspective and this helping methodology.

The first is family therapy. In the last ten years, there has been a phenomenal growth in the field of marriage and family counseling, especially in the private sector, and this growth is worldwide. In the United States, one professional membership organization -- the American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy (AAMFT) -- has grown from 1,000 to 10,000 in the last decade.

The efforts and experience of these professionals, who believe in the importance of marriage and family life, need to be validated. They have equipped themselves with the skills to help troubled families. And yet our systems have not yet adjusted to utilizing this family support. For example, family counseling technically can still not be paid for through most insurance policies, unless an individual family member receives a diagnosis and the therapist surreptitiously sees the family as part of the treatment.

The second is the field of family mediation. In situations of internal family conflict, the traditional focus has been on the legal rights of particular family members. For instance, the focus has been on the rights of parents in cases where the family moves to institutionalize an adolescent; on the rights of children in divorce; the rights of the abused in child abuse and spouse abuse. Yet, such an individualistic approach frequently results in an escalation of the conflict, in a polarization of generations and in a greater likelihood that the family unit seeking help will eventually break apart.

Family mediation is most frequently utilized today in divorces. It is used primarily to settle such issues as child custody and visitation rights. Families who have utilized such services report a decrease in the trauma of separation and divorce. In general, they are more satisfied with the terms of their agreement and have a greater rate of compliance with it than families whose arrangements were court ordered.

Two other facts are important to note in regard to developments in family mediation: first, in at least one study it is estimated that of the divorcing couples who utilize family mediation services, approximately 30% are reconciled and resume their marriage; second, mediation services are increasingly being used in other areas of family dispute which have legal components (e.g., family violence, settlement of wills, decisions about institutionalization of an elderly family member, disputes over family business).

Such programs hold tremendous potential for families, if carefully developed and monitored. They are frequently more humane and most important, they equip families with problem solving and negotiation skills they can use in the future to resolve other potentially disruptive disputes.

Yet, this service is available only through a very small percentage of our court systems and community legal service centers. The public is confused about their potential benefits, limitations, and availability. Additionally existing training and certification programs for mediators are fragmented and not of uniform quality. No national standards exist, although several national organizations, including the Association of Family Conciliation Courts, is at work preparing them. To date, only one major university -- Catholic University here in Washington, D. C. -- has developed a comprehensive multi-disciplinary program in family mediation.

Finally, in regard to families experiencing difficulties, let me conclude by stating that the most significant stressor of family life is lack of sufficient economic support. The stresses families are experiencing from unemployment or under-employment are severe.

I will not address myself to what the government can be doing in the broader economic areas of unemployment, job training, etc., because this is not my field. Instead, I will limit myself to a general comment on governmental programs of economic support for poverty-level families. These programs need to be reviewed for adverse impact on family lives. For example, those states which do not allow a man to be present in the household in order to receive AFDC benefits may in effect break families up.

C. Conditions and Environment: Families and Institutions

Today there is a close and dynamic relationship between families and those institutions with which all families come into daily contact: government, schools, the health care system, and the workplace.

While it is not accurate to describe our society as anti-family, it is accurate to describe it as pro-institutional. But institutions cannot replace families. The family is a stronger agent of educational success than the school. It is a stronger teacher of religious values than the church. It is the key to maintenance of good health.

But institutions and professionals can be renewed, so that their role is one of partnership with and support of the household. Institutions can empower or disempower families. Do the services we deliver through the public and private sectors -- legal, social, health, education, religious -- are they done in a way which supports the family in fulfilling its functions rather than replacing the family? This principle is based on a view of the family as competent, and family problems as adjustments in living through the family life cycle, rather than as pathological aberrations. Our responsibility, then, is to assist and support families.

This is imperative, first, on the level of the federal government. We need to develop a stronger family perspective in drafting and passing policy, legislation, and regulations, and in implementing programs, so that minimally we can ensure that they have no adverse impact on family life.

A good case in point is the current functions of the Office for Families in the Department of Health and Human

Services. This Office attempts to monitor the policy and program developments of the various divisions of HHS to make sure that they are family-oriented. A recent activity of this Office is to ensure that the Requests for Proposals issued by HHS for research and program demonstration have a family perspective built into them. I personally applaud this effort and believe such mechanisms should be incorporated into the other 17 departments of the federal government which, according to the Family Impact Seminar's Inventory Report, have direct impact on family life (1978).

We need to ask whether the government, the workplace, schools and the health care system in our communities throughout the United States work with families as partners, or do they in effect replace them? Do they supplement and support the family in the fulfillment of their functions or do they in effect seek to do the functions in the place of the family? For example, are families enlisted in the healing process of a sick member and in their care in the health care system?

This is a fundamental question. And for institutions which are attempting to form partnerships with parents, these efforts are even more complex today because of the changing nature of family structure. Do one parent families have the same capacity as intact families to care for a dependent elderly member? How can they be helped to do so?

The Family Impact Seminar, which has now joined our Center at Catholic University, has been working for the past six years in developing methodologies for these institutions to utilize in self-study so that they can be more supportive of family life (Bohen, Hubbell, Ooms, 1981). These and similar efforts could be encouraged by the government.

I will conclude with an earlier question: Should we be worried about what is happening to American families?

I personally believe that despite the trauma many families are experiencing today, American family life is dynamic and vital. The family is the most adaptive social system in the history of humankind. We have seen it adapt its structure and functions over the century as needed for its members and for society. We are again in that process today.

What we have to ensure, particularly at the level of the government, is that minimally, we do not make the family's job more difficult. If we can do that much, then we are doing a great deal. In order to do this, we simply must develop a greater sensitivity to the needs of the family as a unit than we are currently doing.

Footnotes

1. The statistics contained in section I of this paper are drawn from various sources including: American Family, Chicago Tribune, Glick, Hauf, Hyer, Masnick, Sawyer, Washington Post, the White House Conference on Families, and Young.

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November 9, 1983

Jeremiah Denton
United States Senate
Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Family and Human Services
Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Denton:

First let me say what a pleasure it was for me to testify before your Subcommittee on Family and Human Services. I admire the work that you are doing and the leadership you are showing in focusing on the needs of the nation's most important resource, our families.

I am enclosing my response to the questions you recently sent me. As you noted in your letter, due to the time constraints of the hearing, there were a number of questions you were unable to ask me. I appreciate that fact that my responses will be included in the public hearing record.

I intend to fulfill your request that I keep you informed of developments in the family area with which I am in touch which might address the important topic of family stability. Thank you for asking me.

Sincerely,

Steven Preister

(Rev.) Steven Preister
Director

SP:mkf

Enclosures

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS DIRECTED BY SENATOR DENTON TO STEVEN PREISTER FOR INCLUSION IN THE PUBLIC HEARING RECORD:

QUESTION 1:

Do you have any information that suggests that the marriage preparation courses used by the Catholic Church are actually preventing breakdown? Since the engaged encounter programs began, is there any information that suggests that this comprehensive preparation results in fewer marriage dissolutions?

ANSWER:

Let me begin by stating the reason we did our study entitled Preparing for Marriage: A Study of Marriage Preparations in American Catholic Dioceses. Ultimately, we were interested in this very question: are the marriage preparation programs effective in the sense that the promote marriage cohesion and prevent marriage dissolution. However, we could not begin to address the question of the effectiveness of programs and research their effectiveness until we had a clear picture of what was being done out there--namely, five pieces of information: (1) what were the policies of the Catholic dioceses which implemented marriage preparation programs, and how many required marriage preparation; (2) what kinds of marriage preparation programs were being offered through the dioceses; (3) who was doing the marriage preparation, and what kind of training did they have; (4) what process did the engaged couples follow, and how much preparation did they receive; (5) what resources in marriage preparation were being utilized by the programs. With this kind of information, we believe the field is now ready to take up the research question on the effectiveness of the programs.

There is some information presently available, however, which does suggest that the programs of marriage preparation do mean fewer divorces for those participating in them. The dioceses of Albany, New York, Toledo, Ohio, and all the dioceses of the State of Wisconsin have conducted research projects on the effectiveness of their programs. These evaluations, however, were only self-report: they asked the couples and their families of origin whether they were effective. In some of these evaluations, couples who had completed the marriage preparation programs up to five years previously were also surveyed. Overwhelmingly, the couples who participated in the programs reported that they felt much more prepared for marriage than they had been prior to the program. The couples' families of origin were even more enthusiastic. Most importantly, when asked what result of the program seemed most important to them, the majority of couples reported that because of their participation in the marriage preparation program, they were more easily able, or would find it easier, to seek help if they encountered a problem in their relationship. Finally, one marriage preparation program, the Tobit Program for the Engaged at the Alverna Retreat Center in Indianapolis, Indiana, has been keeping track of all the alumni of their program, and of all participating couples in the program in the last ten years, they are aware of only two who have divorced; this is far below the national average.

Thus the evidence we have to date suggests that programs of marriage preparation result in fewer marriage dissolutions. However, let me suggest that I believe it would be a well-spent investment to research this further, because if we had adequate evidence, we could then encourage greater development of such programs. What is needed is longitudinal research, and to be frank, longitudinal research is expensive and beyond the financial resources of these programs to conduct. Let me suggest that it would be worthwhile for the federal government to sponsor such research: it would be in the best interest of the nation and the objective of this Subcommittee--to promote marriage and family stability.

QUESTION 2:

How do the Catholic marriage preparation professionals deal with inter-faith marriages in preparation courses?

ANSWER:

An important fact which surfaced in our survey and its results, Preparing for Marriage, was that now that most dioceses have established solid programs of marriage preparation, they clearly see the need to develop specialized programs for particular groups, particularly for inter-faith marriages Thirteen dioceses out of 173 now have specialized programs for inter-faith marriages, and 77 other dioceses requested help through the survey in developing such programs. The National Association of Catholic Diocesan Family Life Ministers (NACDFLM), who conducted the study with us, is examining ways to assist those dioceses. One program already mention, the Tobit Program for the Engaged, has particularly specialized in inter-faith marriage preparation.

QUESTION 3:

Is there information that suggests that inter-faith marriages are more vulnerable than marriages in which both partners have the same faith?

ANSWER:

The answer to this question, I'm afraid, is yes: these marriages are more vulnerable. Evidence is contained in two studies: (1) Empirical Research on Interfaith Marriage in America, conducted by the United States Catholic Conference in conjunction with the Center for the Study of Youth Development at The Catholic University of America, Dean R. Hoge and Kathleen M. Ferry, authors, 1981; (2) The Young Catholic Family: Religious Images and Marriage Fulfillment, by Andrew Greeley (The Thomas More Press, 1980). The reasons why they are more vulnerable is complex, I suspect. In part, it may do to lack of adequate marriage preparation to ready them for their unique situation, and in part it may be do to the lack of support and validation they may receive in their perspective religious denominations.

QUESTION 4:

Is there an increasing propensity for families to use the courts and the law to define family structure and values? Is the legalistic shaping of the family contributing to the breakdown of the family?

ANSWER:

I am not a constitutional or family lawyer, but I do believe there is an increasing trend for the courts to define aspects of family life and responsibility, and I will refer you to a source which addresses this subject. It is an article by Professor William J. Fox, Jr., of the Catholic University of America Columbus School of Law, entitled: "The 'Constitutionalization' of American Family Law" and this appeared in the journal, Social Thought, Spring, 1981, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 28-38.

In regard to your question about whether I believe there is an increasing propensity for families to use the courts, I do believe the answer is clearly yes. This, of course, is not limited to family life: Americans are increasingly using the courts and law suits to settled a variety of disputes. I do not believe, however, that the courts are a particularly useful resource for families who are involved in disputes with each other (divorces, child custody disputes, will disputes, etc.). The reason I say this because it is the nature of the legal system to assume an adversarial position in cases of dispute, and adversarial means are not the best processes for resolving family disputes. As a matter of fact, an adversarial process frequently exacerbates family disputes and can indeed promote further family breakdown and work against maintaining a family cohesion. One of the most important developments in family services over the last years has been, I believe, the development of an alternate service and process frequently called family mediation, to which I referred in my testimony. Because we believe this to be such a promising development, and because if this emerging family service is to be successful it will require the training of competent service providers, at Catholic University we have established the first post-graduate, interdisciplinary training program in family mediation to be offered at a university in the United States. I am also happy to note that the requests for proposals recently released by the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services under their discretionary grants programs included requests for demonstration projects to test the effectiveness of family mediation services.

Senator **Denton**. I want to acknowledge to Dr. Lindsay that we are aware that you are pressed with a 1:15 departure in order to make an airplane, so if it is satisfactory with you, we will proceed with Dr. Ratner's statement and then address a question or two to you so that you may depart.

Dr. **Lindsay**. Fine, Senator.

Senator **Denton**. Dr. Ratner?

Dr. **Ratner**. Thank you for the invitation to speak here.

This is a subject close to my heart. I have spent many years working with families, training doctors over a 10-year period, to prepare engaged couples for marriage, and then, as the public health director of Oak Park back in 1950, I started parent discussion groups, running from about 12 to 18 times a year, from January to May, and I have been doing that every year since 1950. Since 1974, I have been meeting with the children whom I helped raise who are now themselves parents. For the most part, I see normal families with normal problems who enjoy family life.

I have a feeling I should start with my conclusion. Usually, when you are the last speaker, everyone else has made your points, but believe me, nobody has made the point that I am now going to make—because I think everybody is working at the remedial level or maybe, possibly, secondary prevention. I think we have to face the need for primary prevention. In other words I think the solution is long-range. We have to start at the beginning of life.

We are of nature. We belong to the class of mammalia. We have a mode of reproduction characteristic of the human species, as every other species has its characteristic mode. We talk about it as the natural institute of marriage, of family. Aristotle wrote about it,[1] Saint Thomas wrote about it,[2] and it is still the norm for the human species.[3] We will never be able to change it,[4] because nature spent hundreds of thousands of years, differentiating the sexes to play certain roles, etc.[5] What is crucial to this problem is that we start off with a newborn baby who is given to us by nature, with rare exception, in good psychological and physical health.[6] And the question is, what are we doing from the day of birth to cause all of the trouble we are having?

Though I am a physician, some of the first I am going to blame is our medical profession, obstetricians in particular, also pediatricians—I will even throw in the psychiatrists. My problem with all of those trying to help troubled families is, as has already been pointed out, that they have values which are not consistent with or representative of a consensus. Nearly everybody who gets into an advisory or authoritative role has his own opinions of the changing family and of values in life, of the importance or unimportance of children, the value of home, life, and so forth.

I have a few things written here, but will skip most of them to save time.

It is because we have a sick society that this committee meeting is being held. The position I hold is that the fundamental cause of our sick society is the lack of fidelity in our personal and interpersonal and societal relations, and that the solution to the problem is the recovery of fidelity, by returning to practices within the family which are intrinsic to its well functioning.

Note: See references on p. 199.

I take it for granted that everybody knows about the absence of fidelity today—to the Government and the military, to start at that end—and to get to the other end as persons, we lack fidelity to ourselves and to nature to our bodies which we abuse with alcohol and drugs, and other kinds of unhealthy practices—and we even exterminate ourselves by suicide in large numbers in our youth. So I take it for granted that if society possessed the virtue of fidelity—children to their families, parents to their children, spouses and lovers to each other, older people to the religious traditions of their youth whether Judeo-Christian, Mormon, or whatever—we would have a more wholesome not a sick society of families.

So I come to the solution of the problem, the recovery of the virtue of fidelity. This is key. It is tied up with how you love your neighbor.

Nearly all the experts in this field are gravitating to the conclusion that this virtue is instilled in the very early years of life, starting with birth. I have 14 quotes from leading experts who hold this.[7] I can quote from Erik Erikson.[8] I am going to quote Professor Hellbrugge of Munich, Germany; [9] and others. They all hold a position that the newborn baby, like any other mammalian infant needs a certain kind of care in this dependent state. And I would just like to run through what it means for us to belong to the class of mammalia.

Evolution has given mammalia characteristics without which they never would have survived or thrived. Since a newborn depends upon the mother for nourishment and nurturing, three things are required: milk; the willingness of the mother to feed her young, namely, faithfulness; and the imprinting or bonding of mother and infant to each other for the protection and development of the infant.

Now, in all mammals but the human, the fidelity to the newborn is accomplished automatically, by instinct. As you all know, in the animal world, no newborn, no young infant is released to the world until they are thoroughly prepared to fend for themselves—an interesting distinction between the carnivorous and the herbivorous animals, is that the carnivorous additionally have to teach their young how to hunt and eat meat, et cetera.

In the natural and usually seclusive setting at birth, the mother and offspring are imprinted to one another, quickly, so as to assure that each will know its own. In the human being, a unique animal by virtue of being a free agent, the response to the newborn is more complex. It is not automatically determined by instinct. Rather, nature implants natural inclinations that lead to fulfillment; inclinations that are fortified by a particular postpartum hormonal state that promotes the maternal attachment process. It is a very remarkable state that lasts for several days or more. Studies show that the optimum time for the beginning of the attachment process is within the first hour and a half after birth. This is when the mother should have her baby in her arms. It initiates a bosom friendship. Male-dominated modern obstetrics unfortunately has been very disruptive of this attachment process, and as you can see from the consumer revolt, which has led to an increase in home births and birthing centers, as well as a remarkably sharp increase in breastfeeding, this reflects the public reac-

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Note: See references on p. 199.

tion to this disruption. We are finding out that though man being a rational animal can have a rational cognition of his relationship to his baby, it is beneficial and sometimes crucial that this be supported and fortified by an affective cognition, an emotional cognition, because the heart is capable of reaching further than the mind. I wish I had time to even show pictures on this, or to develop this further.

This mammalian fidelity to the newborn which, in the woman, stems from her maternal nature, by way of a natural inclination, is a characteristic which affects her whole being in a more striking fashion than in the man. As a result, the woman tends to be more faithful in anything she undertakes, whether it be to her lover, to her spouse, to her church, or to any cause in which she is made to feel needed. The latter approach, is much exploited by voluntary organizations. She also suffers more when her more deeply ingrained fidelity is transgressed by the infidelity of another. This accounts for the rise in the feminist movement of the "new celibacy."[10] They are tired of their boy friends walking out on them all the time, and they have decided that it is not worthwhile; it is too hard on them.

The need for fidelity in the male-female relationship receives a striking confirmation or support from, of all novelists, D. H. Lawrence, the author of Lady Chatterly's Lover, which in my youth was banned from entering the United States or any other Anglo-Saxon country, because it was considered pornographic. In a remarkable essay entitled "Apropos of Lady Chatterly's Lover," written in 1930, he stated, and I am quoting because he, also recognized the importance of fidelity: "The instinct of fidelity is perhaps the deepest instinct in the great complex we call sex. Where there is real sex, there is the underlying passion for fidelity." [11]

Lawrence, later in the same article, concludes that Christianity's great contribution to the life of man should not be too easily overlooked; namely, that perhaps the greatest contribution to the social life of man made by Christianity is marriage. Christianity, incorporative of the Old Testament—the Jews had the concept of marriage before the Christians did. They knew it was essential. Presumably, in the Christian tradition, the sacrament added some grace to enhance and make more effective the natural. For Lawrence, "Christianity established the little autonomy of the family within the greater rule of the state. It is marriage, perhaps, which has given man the best of his freedom, given him his little kingdom," [12] et cetera.

How much time do I have after that red light goes on, Mr. Chairman?

Senator **Denton**. Well, it is supposed to be out, sir. We will give you some more time, as long as you want, while we are discussing.

Dr. **Ratner**. I need time for two points to make my conclusion.

Senator **Denton**. By all means. I am only worrying about Dr. Lindsay's airplane, but if you can make them in a couple of minutes, that is fine.

Dr. **Ratner**. I will make them extremely short, Senator.

For the optimum development of a human baby, it needs the full-time, single care of one person, usually the mother; if it is not the mother, it has to be the mother substitute. But it has to be single,

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Note: See references on p. 199.

it has to be day and night for 3 years, for the optimum development of the child.[9]

Senator **Denton**. Which 3 years, Dr. Ratner?

Dr. **Ratner**. For the first three years, we are talking about. And that could be elaborated on at length, and I have several publications, but at this point, I will terminate my discussion.

Senator **Denton**. I would very much appreciate further testimony in that direction or its contribution for the record.

Dr. **Ratner**. Yes; I have already passed on some of the materials, but I will write it up in clear form.

The fact is, as Erikson pointed out, that this is the period of hope and trust, and if you cannot have hope and trust in your mother—she establishes the pattern of all future relationships—you then go through life with insecurities, without knowing who to trust and who not to trust, because you have not been taught fidelity by virtue of the example of the mother, who is the exemplar and the prototype for all other future relationships.

Thank you very much.

Senator **Denton**. Thank you very much, Dr. Ratner.

[Questions and responses of Dr. Ratner and additional material submitted follow:]

Note: See references on p. 199.

Questions for Dr. Ratner Submitted by Senator Denton

Q. 1: Do you believe there is such a thing as natural law in sex morality or a role of nature in sex morality? Does natural law dictate the formation of a monogamous family?

A. 1: Man is an interrelated part of nature, which has an order which makes possible scientific investigation. That nature has laws that can be uncovered is a fundamental assumption of the scientist and is justified. Concerning living things, their activities are regulated in accordance with nature, whose goal is ordered to their good life, viz., the goal of surviving and thriving. In plants, the fulfilled plant life is automatically achieved by tropisms, e.g., heliotropism, etc. In animals the fulfilled animal life is automatically achieved by a series of hierarchized instincts, e.g., the instinct to procreate supplants the instinct for self survival. Man is an exception because he is a reasoning and choice making animal. He is capable of saying "yes" and capable of saying "no." Man acts on the basis of choosing ends and determining the means to that end. In this sense he is an *acting* animal not an *activated* animal. This makes man a free agent. When he chooses wisely he can be the best of all animals; when he chooses badly he can be the worst of all animals. (Aristotle. Politic 1:2, 1253 a 31-36). Ethics and morality are analgous to tropisms and instincts in directing man to the good or fulfilled life. Man is also helped by natural inclinations which are not determinative, however, otherwise he would not be a free agent. These natural inclinations point the way to a good decision. For example, the natural inclination in a sexually active woman is to have a baby which surfaces sooner or later, and what goes with it, viz., a husband, the father of the child, and a home, within which to bring up the child. As knowledge of nutrition helps one to determine what is junk food, a knowledge of the procreative scheme of nature for man helps one to determine what is junk sex.

There is a characteristic mode of reproduction for man, viz., the traditional family (man and woman pairing in a lifelong bond for the purpose of raising children to adulthood). It is one of the most enduring and resilient realities of human history. Aberrations and deviations, innovations of one sort or another, come and go; but they never thrive or last. The traditional family has a habit of burying its undertakers. For example, the decade of the nineteen sixties saw the rise of communes and communal family life (the sharing of sex partners and children). But this was short-lived. By the late seventies monogamy and traditional family life were making a comeback in those very same communes. The traditional family is a mode of reproduction as characteristic of the species *homo sapiens* as other modes of reproduction are characteristic of other species, e.g., seasonal monogamy in many species of birds. It is the microcosm which readies children for the macrocosm of society.

A. 1 continued:

Another way of explaining natural law, a term which tends to turn some people off, is the following: Morality emerges from experience with reality. The history of human experience demonstrates that each reality has inherent demands to which the mind and action of humans must conform or suffer a penalty. There are natural norms of the environment which we may violate only at the penalty of ecological disaster or damage. There are norms of health which we may violate only at the cost of pain and disease. There are norms of human behavior which we violate only at the cost of animosity, strife and war. Sex is no exception to such norms of reality.

By trial and error over the centuries the human race has sorted out the ways of thinking and acting best suited to success and happiness. Since humans and their basic needs tend to be similar everywhere, there tend to emerge universally agreed norms of thinking and acting such as those embodied in our Declaration of Independence or the charter of the United Nations. The primacy of the family as a social unit, monogamous fidelity of spouses, a code of self-control in sexual behavior, are the outcome of this history of human experience.

Q. 2: In one of your editorials, you describe the family as "foolproof" in providing the proper development of the child. Can you expand on the characteristics that make the family "foolproof"? (Child and Family, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1970, "Children--The Hope of the Future")

A. 2: The Family, the most important socializing element in society is foolproof when the mother, in particular, and the father, in general, possess virtue and work to be models of what a good mother and father should be, viz., parents more concerned with parental obligations and duties than the exercise of so-called personal rights at the expense of their children; parents who selflessly strive to dedicate themselves to their children's needs including the emotional during their dependent years. The family, then, is foolproof in the sense that a properly functioning family can be a self-sufficient stable enclave even in an unnatural and unstable surrounding. The latter has been demonstrated time after time in families which have risen above and surmounted the handicaps of an unhealthy ghetto environment, as shown by children who have transcended and overcome outside adverse influences to emerge to make their mark in the world. It is the parents and the immediate family who, for the most part, make or break you wherever you are.

Questions for Dr. Ratner Submitted by Senator Denton

Q. 3: Does the popular wisdom about population control, e.g., that it is a good in and of itself and that it is the only means by which underdeveloped countries can develop, have any implication for the breakdown of the family?

A. 3: Population control as presently practiced in the United States (and promoted and practiced elsewhere) by governmental agencies and highly subsidized voluntary agencies (more coercive than voluntary) is not a good in and of itself. Its present promotion is based on an erroneous principle of dialectic materialism which holds that the quantitative results in the qualitative. However, reducing population size in an undeveloped country will not by itself improve it qualitatively. Underdeveloped countries have as their prime need that which will humanize them: in regard to their basic bodily needs---food and housing---which contribute to the preservation of family life; and in regard to their intellectual needs, viz., education. Population control a là the social engineers have accomplished nothing in these areas. This even applies to deprived segments of society in developed countries. To take the United States as an example, a family of ten living in a rat and vermin infested house with cracked toilet bowels and other inadequate plumbing even if it were decimated to three would still be a family living in the same rat and vermin infested house, etc. Worse still, population control as it is now promoted, because it produces an anti-child mentality is not conducive or contributory to the development of wholesome family or social life. Present day population control does not even take into consideration the minimum sized family needed for the optimum development of children.

To take the so-called developed countries and, in particular, the United States we can ask ourselves what has the propagandizing, based on an alleged population explosion in this country, of widespread contraception, sterilization and abortion, which promotes and abets genital sex as recreational, done for this country! We are not developed, we are overdeveloped! If our present policy of population control continues to be subsidized in underdeveloped countries they too will become overdeveloped countries with the inevitable ruin of family life--because it attacks the vulnerable aspect of a viable society, namely, the traditional family, the basic, irreplaceable unit of society.

What today is passed off as responsible parenthood is in reality irresponsible parenthood. Instead of working at the natural and the most effective means of population control: breastfeeding; elevating the age of marriage combined with giving young women educational alternatives to early marriage; and promoting the single life both secularly and religiously we instead promote dangerous contraceptives and abortion which introduce killing as a solution to personal problems, a killing which is now extending itself to infant euthanasia, adult euthanasia and an increase in murder.

When France had only half its present population density in the late 18th century, the charge of overpopulation was used to promote legalized abortion. It was the notorious Marquis de Sade (he gave rise to the term sadism) who said,

> The country will always be poor if its population exceeds its means of existence and it will always be flourishing if it contains itself within its proper limits and can dispose of its surplus. Do you not prune a tree which has too many branches, and in order to preserve the trunk do you not cut off the boughs? (In de Sade: The Selected Writings, "Philosophy in the Bedroom." Castle Books, NY, 1954, p. 118)

The striking parallelism of a statement by Paul Ehrlich, the leading popularizer of population explosion and promoter of population decimation in the United States today, cannot be ignored. He states:

> A cancer is an uncontrolled multiplication of cells; the population explosion is an uncontrolled multiplication of people.... We must shift our efforts from treatment of the symptoms to the cutting out of the cancer. The operation will demand many apparently brutal and heartless decisions. (Ehrlich, P. The Population Explosion. Ballantine, NY, 1968, p. 166)

Questions for Panel II of Senator Denton's Hearings

Q. 1: Miss Decter makes some very strong statements in her testimony about the failure of parents to give their children an adequate moral framework within which to operate--child sacrifice, she calls it. Could the rest of you comment on her thesis--and on its role in our current problems?

A. 1: Indubitably many parents, specifically those who are secularized, or weakly religious or who are confused about the exercise of genital sex as a result of the propaganda of modern sexologists, population controllers, sex education in the schools, government agencies and voluntary agencies such as Planned Parenthood are not giving their children "an adequate moral framework within which to operate." Now, however, parents have had enough sad experiences with children as well as with their own lives that the time seems ripe for a countercurrent so as to persuade them to the value of the accumulated wisdom of the ages in respect to morality.

Q. 2: "There's Dad and his wife, Mom and her second husband, Junior's two halfbrothers from his father's first marriage, his six stepsisters from his mother's spouse's previous unions, 100-year-old Great Grandpa, all eight of Junior's current grandparents, assorted aunts, uncles-in-law and stepcousins." This was the recent U.S. News and World Report forecast for the year 2033. Is this the family of the future that you foresee? If so, do you believe that the children of tomorrow can deal with the multiple relationships involved?

A. 2: The forecast, as depicted by the U.S. News and World Report for the year 2033 is only a superficial, journalistic guess. The traditional family is perduring and ultimately buries its own undertakers. That is why it has survived all kinds of alternatives and aberrations. Children have certain psychological developmental needs in order to mature. These needs are optimumly met in the traditional family. If the Report's forecast turns out to be true, society will be infinitely sicker than it is today and adolescent suicide rates which even now are a leading cause of death will soar to unprecedented heights.

Q. 3: As you know, the title of our hearing today is "Broken Families: Causes and Societal Implications." Some would say that the developing malaise within the institution of the family threatens the very survival of our civilization. How would you respond to that statement?

A. 3: The fall and decline of Rome, because it, too, was a sensate culture, is a matter of history. What happened to the society then is happening to society today. We cannot simply focus on short range solutions. The solution is long range and must start with the birth of a new generation. What is necessary is to educate parents to understand that the newborn child has basic needs to receive and return love--the cement of society--

which can best be served by private tutorship, i.e., maternal tutorship. Here the institutes of society must support women in their vocation of motherhood.

Q. 4: How successful do you believe institutional child care services can be, either in whole or in part, as a replacement for parental time and care in child rearing?

A. 4: Institutional care as a replacement for parental care would fail dismally. At times, it is hard enough to love one's own child, without expecting strangers to do better. We already have had the sad experience of nursing homes. Why would we expect to do better with day care centers which are unnatural to begin with. Please see the bibliography on day care centers in my presentation.

Q. 5: I have enclosed a copy of an article from Public Opinion (January, 1983), entitled "Hollywood and America: The Odd Couple," by Linda Lichter, S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman. The article describes a survey of 104 of Hollywood's "media elite," a survey of backgrounds, political views, and religious and moral beliefs. You will note that those interviewed describe themselves as being considerably more left of center than the average American. I would be interested in your comments on any of the findings of the survey as they relate to the role of the media in influencing public attitudes toward the family.

A. 5: The anti-family influence of the media must be reversed or at least counterbalanced.

Q. 6: Do you believe sexual permissiveness before marriage affects the likelihood of the success of a future marriage?

A. 6: Data shows that virginity is more conducive to the success of a future marriage than sexual permissiveness, i.e., promiscuity. The experience of fornication paves the way for adultery because the habit of experiencing more than one sex partner has been instilled.

Q. 7: Do you believe that the churches today are outspoken enough on sexual mores and on the sanctity of marriage?

Many churches, who believe in change for change's sake and who like to keep up with the new believing it to be progress, are adversely affected by secularistic propaganda. However, it is the time tested past--the permanent in life's values--that protects from the transitory fads of the present. Our hope rests with strong and fearless leaders, among whom, the world travelling Pope John Paul II is a sterling example.

Questions for Panel II of Senator Denton's Hearings

Q. 8: I believe there is still some ambivalence in our society today as to where married women should draw the line between their devotion to career and the time they spend with their families. Is there any correlation at all in your mind between the role changes that have occurred between the sexes in recent years and the rising divorce rate?

A. 8: Married women who want a stable marriage, children and a good family life are in a tough plight if they give priority to a career. Without priorities based on obligations to the family and the early developmental emotional needs of the child especially in their dependent years, marriages and family life are headed for trouble. Careers don't last forever but children do. The longevity of an American woman is about 75 years. there is plenty of opportunity to do both in one's life span.

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4. Timasheff, Nicholas S. The Attempt to Abolish the Family in Russia. CHILD AND FAMILY 16:242-252, 1977. See Appendix.

5.a) Rossi, Alice S. A Biosocial Perspective in Parenting. CHILD AND FAMILY 17:88-125, 1978. See Appendix
   b) Supra 3, pp.203-209.

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10. a) Schoen, Elin. The New Celibacy: The "ideal date" goes dateless. HERS. New York Times. Sept,27,1979.
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13. a) Nagera, Humberto. Day-Care Centers: Red Light, Green Light or Amber Light CHILD & FAMILY 14:317-342, 1975. See Appendix.
    b) Mendelsohn, Robert S. The Congressional Hearings on Child and Family Services-Testimony. CHILD AND FAMILY 14:317-342, 1975. See Appendix.

APPENDICES

1. The Natural Institution of the Family--Aristotle--From Child and Family, Vol. 16, No. 1, Pp. 62-66, 1977

2. The Family as a Natural Institution--Thomas Aquinas--From Child and Family, Vol. 16, No. 2, Pp. 101-113, 1977.

3. Nature, Mother and Teacher: Her Norms--Herbert Ratner, M.D.--From Nature, Pp. 185-219, fall 1983.

4. The Attempt to Abolish the Family in Russia--Nicholas S. Timasheff--From Child and Family, Vol. 16, No. 3, Pp. 242-252, 1977.

5. Population Control as Public Policy--Testimony--Albert T. Kapusinski--From Child and Family, Vol. 17, No. 2, Pp. 144-159, 1978.

6. The Family Bed: An Age Old Concept in Childrearing Introduction--Herbert Ratner--From Child and Family, Vol. 13, No. 1, Pp. 5-8, 1974.

7. Overpopulation: The False Culprit--An Editorial--From Child and Family, Pp. 194-195, summer 1969.

8. Excerpts from Literature Dealing With Mother-Baby Separation--La Leche League International--July 2, 1979.

9. Early Social Develpment and Proficiency in Later Life--Theodor Hellbrugge--From Child and Family, Vol. 18, No. 2, Pp. 121-131, 1979.

10. Day-Care Centres: Red Light, Green Light or Amber Light--Humberto Nagera--From Child and Family, Vol. 14, No. 2, Pp. 110-136, 1975.

11. The Congressional Hearings on Child and Family Services--Testimony--Robert S. Mendelsohn--From Child and Family, Vol. 14, No. 4, Pp. 317-342, 1975.

(Editor's Note: In the interest of economy, the appendices listed above were retained in the files of the Committee where they may be researched at any time, upon request.)

Senator **Denton**. If the others would acquiesce, I would address Dr. Lindsay since he has to catch an airplane, and then get to the three remaining.

In your own State of Utah, Dr. Lindsay, parental consent is required for the dispensation of all contraceptives to minors. Has that yet been interrupted—I am going to ask a further question, but I have forgotten whether the courts have already stopped that.

Dr. **Lindsay**. The case is on appeal, Senator Denton.

Senator **Denton**. It is on appeal, so you are still doing that in the State?

Dr. **Lindsay**. I think the last interdiction by the court restrained this taking place, pending the appeal.

Senator **Denton**. OK, but the practice, I think, existed for over a calendar year or so; is that correct?

Dr. **Lindsay**. Yes. I think your staff member, Ms. Taylor, could probably bring us up-to-date on that.

Senator **Denton**. Yes, sir. Are there statistics suggesting that this policy is causing a decrease in adolescent sexual activity or a decrease in teenage pregnancies—because the predictions by all the soothsayers and gainsayers of the approach that the adolescent family life is in the direction of taking—say that you are going to simply increase teenage pregnancy rather than decrease it by that approach.

Dr. **Lindsay**. I am not personally aware of an extensive body of data on that fact. My understanding is that the teenage pregnancy rate has not been adversely affected. If anything, it is somewhat better.

Senator **Denton**. Yes, sir, those are also my understandings about the matter.

Ms. Taylor says that parental consent was upheld in court, but that parental notification by Utah is pending an appeal in January. That seems anomalous to me. The court upheld parental consent for the issuance of contraceptives, but there is—oh, parental consent is for federally issued contraceptives. So there is some parallel there. But I believe the panic which has been attempted to be started is not borne out by the facts in Utah or in other places where such changed policies have been in effect.

Do you have any further comments that you would like to make, Dr. Lindsay, in view of what you have heard today, in that you only were permitted to read your opening statement—for example, this panel made remarks after you.

Dr. **Lindsay**. I would just again commend the effort of this panel. I think I take back to my own roots the feeling that other institutions in addition to Government, particularly the churches—and I have been very impressed with what I have heard from my copanelists here—of preparation for marriage, which of course, transcends the Government's role.

I think another comment which you have made, which again relates to the whole attitude that we have toward marriage as a sacred institution, can be tremendously impacted by leadership, not particularly formally by the Congress, but by those of you in positions of responsibility, speaking out. You have mentioned, for example, the strict enforcement of Federal pornography and obscenity laws. Recently, we were involved in a meeting which included the Commissioner of Customs, the Postmaster General, the Director of the FBI, Mr. Webster, and the Attorney General, and I think there is much, much more that can be done in terms of constraining the distribution of those kinds of materials. As we come to many of these larger cities and view the impact upon that kind of trade, illicit trade, in our country, but which still goes uncountenanced, I think there is much that governments—Federal, State and local—can do.

Again, I applaud the effort to establish a national concern and a mindset around these issues and appreciate the opportunity for having been here and apologize for having to leave at this time.

Senator **Denton**. Thank you very much, Dr. Lindsay, and we hope you have a safe and pleasant journey back.

There seems to be a common thread—and I say this for the three of us remaining—about the importance of recognition of, appreciation for, reenforcement for that which has been represented as a natural human instinct among women—you might call it the maternal instinct—and yet the repetitious insistence, by innuendo and by direct statement, that it is foolish to devote oneself if one is female to such a role.

Now, having said that, and wanting to hear any further comments you might have on that subject, I guess we have to recognize that celibates, with perhaps even nobler instincts, if the society itself is able to sustain and reproduce itself, such as Father Preister, nuns, or those who undertake, perhaps like Miss Decter, social roles which fulfill the maternal instinct in another way, perhaps one could contend a broader way, in some cases, by no means invalid or deserving of criticism, to say the least. But on the other hand, the main point is we are, perhaps, depreciating more than general order and well-being would advise the role of wife and mother in today's society.

I was tremendously touched by the depth of the logic employed by Dr. Ratner in his drawing out the theme of fidelity.

Is there anything that the other two of you would care to comment on with respect to that subject. He has stated positively that it takes 3 years for a newborn child to experience the love or the psychological and physical presence, the intangible things that come from one, single individual. What about the ones that have nannies and survive, and that sort of thing? I would just sort of throw that open to the three of you.

Dr. **Ratner**. Well, quickly, about the nanny, it could be the mother, or you could have a full-time mother substitute, but she will get the benefit of the relationship with the baby. You see this in Romeo and Juliet, that Juliet's wet-nurse, was considered more of a mother to her than the real mother.

Senator **Denton**. You cannot have a nanny and a mother? I mean, you cannot have a nanny part-time and a mother part-time and get away with it?

Dr. **Ratner**. No. We are dealing with a situation where you need somebody to tutor the child in love and fidelity, and this has always been the role of nature the mother or mother institute. She has chosen the woman as the primary tutor of love, because she gives birth to the baby. Now, somebody else could be that primary tutor, but you cannot have a succession of people coming in and walking out on you. We have a lot of documentation on this. If you have a shift from one babysitter to another—this happened to Michaelangelo—if you have a succession of women walk out of your life in the first 3 or 4 or 5 years of life, you are not going to have any trust and confidence in women.

That initial relationship is to give you the security and the stability so that at that time, when you get to be 3, you can go out and begin to face the world at a pace proper to the child; they can begin to go to nursery school, Montessori school, and so forth, and they can move into the broader scope of the neighborhood.

Senator DENTON. So, as a general rule—and since you have testified at length on this, I would like the comments of the others—you believe, from your experience, findings, reasoning, and so forth, that in the first 3 years, the child requires a single person to show fidelity to that child and sort of rear it through this nonintellectual, perhaps, development, but give it this fidelity.

Dr. RATNER. Yes. This is in our publication, Child and Family. Professor Hellbrugge, who studied more children, followed them through decades, and really has the data is published here.[12] But the trouble the poor woman faces, the career woman—there was just a leading article on this in the Wall Street Journal—is that once you have a baby, you have a lifelong relationship. And the best insight into this relationship and what it means—because we know from the papers how sad people are by virtue of what their children do; I am talking about women extending right up to Queen Elizabeth. There is an old Yiddish proverb which says: "Small children disturb your sleep. Big children disturb your life."

The point is, you take care of your children when they are small, and they disturb your sleep when they are small, because you feed them, and comfort them, and so forth; but that is better than having the rest of your life spoiled because of all of the difficulties they get into by virtue of their insecurity.

Senator DENTON. I want to hear the others on this, but you know, there are many other influences other than parents weighing upon children more disproportionately than formerly. I do not think we can blame parents completely. I have seen so many which say the parents of the forties are really to blame because they did not pass on their values. Well, heck, you have the television hours, you have the other cultural changes, so——.

Dr. RATNER. But there is a certain resiliency in nature. I mean, nature can outwit doctors who handicap her with improper prescriptions and so forth. But the fact remains that we are now just coming out of a bottle-feeding period which started around 1920, and it was only 4 years ago, the American Academy of Pediatrics said: "We have to get back to breast-feeding." New Zealand and Canada and, nearly every national professional group has said that, not only because of the physical advantages, but the whole——.

Senator DENTON. I promise you we will use the written testimony, the other books and everything, as resources as we go ahead.

Father, would you care to comment?

Father PREISTER. Yes, just to pick up where Dr. Ratner was, the same Erik Erikson talked about the need for all adults, the absolute need and responsibility of all adults, to be generative, and

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Note: See footnote on p. 199.

whether you are talking about fathers, or mothers, or celibates, or singles, that is still a need. I think there is a basic agreement that the child needs to be tutored in love and fidelity, but the basic shift we are seeing today is that we need to help the family be the tutor, not just the mother, and I think there is some value in that. There are some values for fathers being involved in that. The fact of life is as you say, many parents have terrific responsibilities today, so some people simply do not have a choice about whether they are going to work or not work. The strength of the black family historically has been the strength of that extended system and how they participated in the tutoring of their children in love and fidelity. There are some benefits that can come from the family assuming that responsibility, and to extend it to the area of divorce. When divorce occurs, the fundamental problem, I think, that children experience when there is a divorce is they believe their parents are divorcing them. If family, both parents, assumes responsibility for tutoring their children in love and fidelity, if they can convey to their children through their behavior that they are not divorcing their children, I think it can make a difference.

Senator Denton. Mr. Rainey.

Mr. Rainey. Well, obviously, this is an area where Mr. Ratner has a great deal of research that I do not personally excel in. But I am the father of five children, and my wife and I have made many decisions based upon their emotional security in bringing them up. And I frankly believe today because of the peer pressure that is even in kindergarten and the first grade, that we are going to see emerge—and are seeing emerge even today—among those parents who can pay the cost, a movement of home schooling, where that nurturing is extended on through earlier years. Many of the Presidents of the United States came up out of home schooling. So that nurturing concept that builds security and self-esteem, I see in my own children, and I believe that the peer pressure does not start in high school like it used to; the peer pressure starts at kinderqarten and first grade, and children are being asked to make decisions at an incredibly young age that are frightening.

Senator Denton. Well, Father, I belong to the SERA Club, for what that is worth, and I appreciate recognition of those in your calling, too. But I am dismayed, because my personal conviction is that while we have socially recognized, and justly so, not only the right, but the need, for women to fulfill themselves in service, the kinds of service which have not been traditional, and they are moving into those areas, as I say, with greater and greater success, there seems to be, at least in my observation, a kind of an uncertainty about where all this should be sorted out. And that is one of the things that I am personally and senatorially interested in trying to contribute toward in a way that is fair and sort of omniconsiderate of the different points of view.

Yes, Mr. Rainey.

Mr. Rainey. I personally believe that we have become such a now generation of immediate gratification of our needs, our wants, our desires, that the impact of this, as seen upon women today, we are not making investments in these children for that next generation, and frankly, posterity needs to be a higher premium in our culture today.

That is a word that we do not talk much about any more, and frankly, our most valuable human resource we have is our children. My wife and I view her as a professional homemaker and mother as an investment in the future of our Nation.

I concur with you, it is a troubling issue that needs to be grappled over, but we have got to challenge thinking above the moment, to get people thinking about the heritage we will leave on this planet.

Senator **Denton**. Dr. Ratner?

Dr. **Ratner**. The woman is in a tough spot. The only important thing she must realize is that she is going to live to be about 74 years old. So there is really time to do a number of things after your children are grown up.

Now, my wife is an M.D., I have a daughter an M.D., I have two other professional daughters—you have to determine what your priorities are going to be. And there is no question, if you are going to have children have them at the beginning, and get them off to a good start. Otherwise, you are headed for trouble.

There is nothing simple about the situation. Every woman has to make a decision for herself has to live with it. We now have enough data coming in from career women, and women who are having their babies at 37, 38, 39, 40, up to 44, because they suddenly realize they do want to have a baby. Few are going to become grandparents, obviously, and they are going to miss those joys, which are considerable.

Senator **Denton**. Your data indicates that they should have the babies early in life, in, say, their twenties, and the careers afterward, or what? Or are you making that conclusion?

Dr. **Ratner**. No. I am just saying that after you finish your education, first of all, we are living in a peculiar age where marriage is epidemic, and it is getting younger and younger and younger, like a primitive agriculture society.

Senator **Denton**. Marriage is?

Dr. **Ratner**. Marriage is epidemic in this country, or was recently—certainly, shacking up together is—marriage is epidemic. I mean, as of 15 or 20 years ago, 97 percent of the people are getting married——

Senator **Denton**. Yes, sir, but the statistics that we have seen over and over indicate that marital ages are getting older and older.

Dr. **Ratner**. Well, shacking up is a form of marriage. My point is, you should get your education if you are interested in, as a woman, having a career. You get into difficulties if you get married before, say, you finish your M.D. studies, and then, once you are prepared for your career, and you also decide to have a family, you have to make a decision on your priorities. And, as I say, once you have a child, you are going to have a lifelong relationship with the child, so you had better think of the baby's needs first, because you are going to live in a relationship with that child for the rest of your life.

Senator **Denton**. So, is this a fair construction of what you would say—and I would ask the other two to comment—that we are in an era of opportunity for multiple choices on the part of women, and that this is good, and that the only caution that we might have to emphasize is that if children become involved, they should be given sufficient priority in their hierarchy of interest and commitment.

Dr. **Ratner**. Right.

Father **Preister**. I would just add, Senator, we are in the era of more choices for some women, not for all. Unfortunately, many women in this country do not have the opportunity to become doctors and then choose to have a family. Their situations are different.

Senator **Denton**. I guess we could live with that, though, can't we, Father? I mean, we have before.

Father **Preister**. Yes.

Senator **Denton**. Is there anything else you would like to comment on before you depart? We will be submitting written questions, but time has run past the intended adjournment time.

Dr. **Ratner**. I would like to make one comment which I was not able to get into my presentation because of lack of time.

The notion that day care centers are going to solve the problem of the working woman—I do not mean the woman in dire need—is very fallacious——[13]

Senator **Denton**. I will write that question in and ask you what your opinions are regarding day care centers, when they should start, what the conditions should be, who should provide them, the private sector or Government.

Dr. **Ratner**. Yes. If babies were intended to be brought up in litters, they would have come in litters. To acquire the habit of love and commitment the child needs a one-to-one relationship in the early years.

Senator **Denton**. Do you all generally endorse that thought?

Mr. **Rainey**. I have a litter.

Senator **Denton**. Father Preister?

Father **Preister**. I endorse that babies definitely need constant and loving care, and that care needs to be consistent and delivered by preferably their families, when that is possible; when that is not possible, that we make the best adjustments we can to it.

Senator **Denton**. Well, I certainly do not want to give any impression that I think you all are being smug about certain difficult exceptional situations which exist in some families, in which there is no other choice, and maybe some in which the talent that the woman possesses is such that she feels that—if I may be corny enough to say it—that God wants her to do such-and-such a task at such-and-such a time, like Joan of Arc, something like that, in which case, I guess we would have to grant that God will take care of the kids some way.

Dr. **Ratner**. They will have to live with what they do.

Senator **Denton**. Yes, sir?

Mr. **Rainey**. You asked for a concluding comment. I would like to conclude with a question. It seems as though those of us in the public continue to come to you, saying, "Solve this problem or that," and burden Congress and all branches of Government with the solutions. And there has been a breath of fresh air, it seems, blowing, shifting more responsibility to the private sector of solving some of these problems.

Note: See footnote on p. 199.

Is there any mandate out of these hearings that you would like to give us, as the religious community and the private sector, toward the solution of the disintegration of the American family?

Senator DENTON. Well, my suggestions on that, I am afraid, will be relatively modest, but let me answer that in writing to you—and I promise to remember—after our next hearing, which deals with the exclusive subject of the potential role of the Government in dealing with what we have discussed today.

I want to thank you three very much for your heartfelt and valuable testimony, and the others who have stayed here, without the biggest media-popular subject in town, but I think everybody here knows that it is a lot more important than that attendance would indicate.

At this point I order printed all statements of those who could not attend and other pertinent material submitted for the record.

[The material referred to follows:]

THE JEWISH FAMILY: A TRADITIONAL PORTRAIT

Rabbi Gilbert S. Rosenthal
Temple Beth El, Cedarhurst, N.Y.

Prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on Family and Human Services, Sept. 22, 1983 Hearing

I have been invited to paint for your consideration a portrait of the traditional Jewish family in brief fashion. To do so is like teaching Torah on one foot, to borrow Hillel's famous aphorism. Hillel, you recall, taught in answer to that strange request of the potential convert who wanted a succinct summation of Judaism, that "you should love your neighbor as yourself." Since Judaism has an aversion to, what Professor Louis Ginzberg aptly dubbed, "acrobatic Judaism," I think you are entitled to a more extensive answer than that -- but an answer that cannot possibly be condensed into a mere summary. After all, much of the Bible is concerned with the family: 38 of 50 chapters of Genesis are devoted to marriage, children, sibling rivalry, domestic quarrels, courtship, and death of parents. Is there a better indication than this of the high priority of the family in our civilization?

Suppose we try to sketch a rough portrait of the traditional Jewish family. What are the salient features of the Jewish family? What are the key themes, the leitmotifs, that mark the Jewish home as unique? And how did the patterns of the Jewish home make for Jewish identity?

The first is, I think, the religious factor. Let us remember that marriage is considered divinely ordained, that celibacy is viewed by Judaism as a sin. Consequently, it is God's will that marriage be undertaken in order to find human companionship and in order to bring children into this world. Marriage is, therefore, viewed in Judaism as kiddushin, a holy covenant between man, woman, and God. Accordingly, marital relations -- both physical and social -- are scrupulously regulated by Halakhah, Jewish law. So, too, are relations to children, to parents, to other family members. Mitzvot (divine commandments) are to control every family situation including sexual affairs (taharat hamishpahah), child-rearing, care for elderly parents, Sabbath and festival observances, philanthropy, and the like. Thus the mitzvot determined the ideal of chastity and modesty. They denigrated pornography and lewdness; they described sexual perversions as "abominations." The value system established by Halakhah viewed intermarriage as a horrible act of treason while it glorified Jewish virtues such as charitableness, hospitality, compassion, learning, good neighborliness, domestic peace, and respect for parents and elders.

Finally, the ritual pattern sought to evoke powerful Jewish loyalties, historical memories, and unmistakable Jewish identities. Sabbath dinners, kosher cooking, Passover sedarim, meals in the Sukkah and Hanukkah festivities all heightened the families' sense of Jewishness and engendered a deep sense of pride in the past and in our heroes. There could be little identity crisis in Jewish homes whose very climate was saturated with Yiddishkeit (Jewishness) and whose ambiance was that of a sanctuary in miniature. The religious factor was unquestionably a mighty force for Jewish feelings, loyalties, loves, identity, and pride.

The second salient feature of the Jewish home is that each member had a clearly defined role. These roles were defined by law, custom, and tradition, and Sholom Aleichem's Tevye was not so wrong when he noted that because of our tradition, everyone knows what he is to do and what God expects of him. Father was the domineering, discipline figure; mother dished out love mixed with milk and honey. Children knew their place; grandparents had their niche. Even the marginal members -- relatives and landsleit -- played their parts in the family drama. Until modern times, rare was the Jewish family member who moved out of his characteristic role.

Another striking element that marked the Jewish home was the enormous altruism, self-sacrifice and intensiveness in child-rearing. The old Yiddish proverb, "everything for the children," was no mere expression; it was a way of life. Parents would sacrifice everything to educate their sons; they would go to any length to assure a good match for their daughters. Intensiveness and smothering devotion may have created our share of neurotics and misfits, but they also produced ten percent of the Nobel Laureates over the last seventy years as well as leaders in the arts, sciences, letters, and industry.

A fourth typically Jewish factor in our family structure was the careful control parents exerted over their children. Parents chose the schools and tutors to which their offspring would go to learn Torah. They selected their clothes and hairstyles. They arranged shiddukhim (matches) for their tender youngsters; they guided them into their life's careers. Thus the two major decisions of a youngster's life, namely, marriage and career, were traditionally left to parental control. The Jewish family exhibited little laissez faire and much benevolent tyranny.

Yet another factor which strengthened the Jewish family and Jewish identity was the external factor of an alien world that was often hostile and even lethal to the Jewish home. The Jew was, after all, an undiluted entity on a sea of hostility both in the Christian and Moslem worlds. He was at best a tolerated minority. At worst, he was maligned, attacked, and expelled. As a result, he turned inward towards himself and his family. The Jewish family became inner-directed. The combination of physical ghettos as well as self-imposed spiritual ghettos, helped develop the isolated and aloof Jewish family and community. Consequently, the Jew developed within himself a sense of worth and pride -- pride in tradition and in history, in family and folkways, in culture and heritage. What did it matter that the peasant outside drank excessively, fornicated, and beat his wife, as long as the Jew maintained his commitment to sobriety, chastity, and family love? If the Christian-Moslem world sought to undermine the morale and stability of the Jewish home and community by their contempt and pressures, they were badly deluded. If anything, they merely strengthened the Jew within and heightened his sense of loyalties and identity.

So, then, this combination of religious values, clearly defined roles, altruistic sacrifice, tight parental controls, and external hostilities of the Diaspora world, helped build the Jewish home into a veritable Rock of Gibraltar and helped sharpen Jewish values and heighten Jewish identity.

Of course, there is always the tendency to create "the myth of the ideal past." Human beings are prone to dream of the good old days which weren't perhaps quite so good when they weren't so old. There were plenty of problems in the Jewish family; all was not as idyilic as nostalgia prompts us to believe. There was divorce in the middle ages, particularly in Moslem lands. Wife beating must have occurred in some places, as evidenced by the severe penalties laid on the husbands by rabbinic authorities. And not all women were happy in their roles or in loveless, arranged marriages. Isaac Bashevis Singer's recent play, Yentl, develops this theme bizarrely, as do the works of Sholom Aleichem. But for all of the flaws in the Jewish home, we had less alcoholism, less wife-beating, less child abuse, less brutality, less instability than prevailed in gentile homes.

With the era of Emancipation, Jewish family values were severely challenged. In the wake of the French Revolution, western Jews entered the assimilatory main stream. Jewish men and women began to intermarry; Jewish values were eclipsed; Jewish identity declined; baptism began to take its grim toll. In eastern Europe, the socialist-communist secularism shattered Jewish values and family life. Note the disintegration process in Tevye's family: first his daughters reject arranged marriages and want to marry for love;

then they marry radicals; and finally, the ultimate blow of mixed marriage and apostacy. And when the immigrants came to this land of freedom it was even worse. Off came the beards and *yarmulkas*; husbands abandoned wives; they dallied with loose women; they worked on the Sabbath and ate forbidden foods; and the young generation spat upon the old and on their values. "*Du is anderish*" -- "here it is different," explains Jake to his greenhorn wife, in that poignant movie, *Hester Street*. And since it *was* different here and freer and a Jew had to become an American instantly, that meant that wives should comport themselves like gentile women and husbands like free-thinkers. Gone with the Jewish family! Gone with Jewish ideals! Gone with Jewish identity! Gone with the synagogue! Gone with Torah learning! And we are paying the price today of the immigrant generation's folly.

In more recent times we have witnessed a romantic revolution and a sexual revolution, and both revolutions have profoundly affected Jewish family stability. The romantic revolution which began in the early nineteenth century destroyed the notion of family loyalty and traditional obligations to clan, parents, religion, and people. Each man and woman was now free to choose a mate as he or she saw fit: duty was no longer a factor in the modern family. The sexual revolution has legitimatized long-held taboos. Adultery, pre-marital sex, homosexuality and a host of other "sinful" and aberrational behavior patterns have changed the face of family life. The sexual revolution has its Jewish accents, too, and clergymen and social workers are seeing the negative impact on Jewish family life in increasing degree.

Then, too, we live in a hedonistic age. We insist on instant gratification; we yearn for unremitting, continuous happiness. This is a "now" generation that demands happiness, fulfillment, and joy *here and now* no matter what might be the consequences.

The "Playboy" philosophy is rife; we relate to people as sex objects to be used, manipulated, enjoyed -- without meaningful commitment.

Religious norms have declined; the underpinnings of ethical behavior have collapsed. We live in a secular, post-Christian age in which the Biblical roots of western civilization have been severely undermined.

A spirit of avant-garde liberalism is abroad; one does his thing no matter what the consequences. Old values and norms are viewed suspiciously, cynically.

Rampant individualism is part of our culture. There is a dilution of feeling of responsibility to others, be they parents, spouses, children, community, ancestors, country, heritage, or faith. "*My* happiness is all that counts" is a frequently heard argument for sexual misbehavior and divorce these days. The first person pronoun has crowded out all others.

There is an inordinate stress on the acquisition of *things* rather than *virtues*. We pursue *pleasure* rather than *character*.

Family roles have been hopelessly confused as mothers have emasculated fathers and fathers have abdicated their classic position.

Unquestionably, the new women's revolution has caused dangerous backwash and has affected adversely family stability. Growing marital instability is due partly to the unstable factor of eroticism and women's growing economic independence, notes Professor Edward Shorter. The more women pull away from the nuclear nest to seek fulfillment and rewards outside of the family and child care, the more the nuclear family crumbles to be replaced by "free-floating couples."

One final negative factor that has injured contemporary marriages and families is the increasingly popular notion of "open marriages." This notion asserts that traditional marriage is a closed fusion of couples who become totally dependent on one another and restrict relations with others. Nena and George O'Neill, who have been leading advocates of open marriage, call for new roles for husbands and wives who will be open to outside growth and experiences and the development of less traditionally defined roles. This will allow for open companionship with either sex even if it means extra-marital sexual relationships. In sum: open marriage means independent living, personal growth, individual freedom, flexible roles, mutual trust, and expansion through openness. Needless to say, such an approach to marriage and the family is shaking the foundations of the traditional home and its age-old norms and value system.

Has this new freedom in sex and marriage brought greater happiness and stability to our families? Quite the contrary. Divorces have increased alarmingly so that just under 1.2 million couples break up annually and we are told that if the present rate of divorce continues, one of three couples marrying this year will ultimately split up. One of six American children lives with one parent. Psychologists and psychiatrists are seeing an ever-growing list of patients, both young and old, who reflect the sickness that is rooted in family unhappiness. And clergymen and educators deal increasingly with family problems, unhappy marriages, disturbed children, shattered homes. So much for the new Eden!

Is it government's role to battle the plague by intervening in family affairs? I think not: The idea of bureaucrats in the bedroom and governmental officials poking around the homestead frightens me as it should frighten all Americans. We know only too well from contemporary history how the Nazis and the Communists interfered in the most intimate aspect of a person's family and home. We do not want "Big Brother" of George Orwell's 1984 peering over our shoulder. This is not the function of democratic government. That is not to say that the government should be indifferent to family decay. Since society reflects the nuclear institution which is the family, it is to the society's advantage to bolster the stability of the home, to shore up the sagging foundations of marriage, to teach the meaning of love, sexuality, and marriage,to foster courses in family living, and to do all possible to enhance the traditional norms of solid, cohesive marital units. And government would do well to fund clinics to help counsel, guide, and cure sick and ailing couples whose marriages and families are tottering.

But essentially the challenge belongs to church and synagogue and school and community center. And even more fundamentally, it is the parents who must set the proper example of fidelity, chastity, moral behavior, and family solidarity and loyalty. We can, I suppose, no longer turn back the clock. Parents no longer choose clothes for children, how much less, mates. We do not want others to select careers or arrange matches for us; it is, therefore, simplistic and fatuous to call for a return to "good old family values" and it is dangerous to summon the government to intrude.

Parental default, however, is the worst solution. Parents can no longer and should no longer coerce; but they can guide, inspire, lead. They can infuse moral values and religious norms; they can teach by precept and example; they can show the way. In Hebrew, the word for parents is horim; the word for teachers is morim. They are from the same root for parents are to be teachers. They can and must make their homelife so beautiful and exemplary, so stable and secure, that their children will want to emulate their pattern.

It is late, very late. The numbers of unhappy, miserable, sick, disturbed men, women and children grow daily to the detriment of our society and the endangerment of our nation. We had better act today: tomorrow may well be too late.

Senator **Denton**. This hearing stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:30 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

BROKEN FAMILIES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1983

U.S. Senate,
Subcommittee on Family and Human Services,
Committee on Labor and Human Resources,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m., in room SD-628, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Jeremiah Denton (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator Denton.

Opening Statement of Senator Denton

Senator **Denton**. Good morning.

This hearing will please come to order.

I would like to welcome the witnesses and guests to the fourth in a series of hearings on the topic of family breakdown. Today's hearing will focus on the role of Government in helping prevent the breakup of families and in ameliorating the negative consequences for members of broken families. We have a particularly distinguished group of witnesses gathered here this morning, and I am honored that they have agreed to take the time out of their busy schedules to be with us.

Dorcas Hardy, Assistant Secretary for Human Development Services at the Department of Health and Human Services has kindly agreed to present a broad overview of the areas of Federal Government policies that have an impact on the family.

Then we will have a panel in which Mrs. Diane Ahrens, an elected official from St. Paul, Minn., joins Mrs. Johnson and Dr. Mays in describing local public and private services programs which help families, and to discuss how Government can encourage such programs. We shall conclude with a second panel consisting of three well-known scholars and authors who view the problems of family breakdown from widely varying perspectives.

Betty Friedan, a leader of the women's movement of the 1960's has agreed to explore with us her view of how the women of the 1980's are reconciling the feminist perspective with needs for love, children, family, home and how she thinks the Government has helped or hindered this reconciliation.

George Gilder, a critical analyst of the poverty programs established in the 1960's, will discuss ways he believes Government can change the system to eliminate the welfare trap for millions of single women and their children.

Brigitte Berger, a sociologist who is studying the family issues, will discuss her views on the centrality of certain family issues which, if addressed by the Federal Government, will strengthen the nuclear family. So we have a full morning ahead of us and I urge you all—media and public guests alike—to stay with us throughout the entire hearing.

At our first two hearings in the series on broken families, which were held in March of this year, we learned some sobering facts about the effects of family breakups on children, women, and men. At the third hearing, held on September 22, we focused on the causes of family breakdown and on its implications for our society.

These hearings, held by this subcommittee throughout 1983, have yielded important data and useful recommendations concerning the American phenomenon of broken families. I have been seeking the facts about family breakdown so that my work as chairman of this subcommittee can be supported with answers to these questions:

What are the causes of family breakups?

What premarital guidance and activities are effective in preventing the dissolution of marriages and family breakdowns?

What services, programs, and laws can improve the wellbeing of the victims of family breakups—children, youth, women, and men?

Let me make clear how we chose to define the term broken family. By that phrase we mean more than just the family broken up by divorce. We also mean parents who live apart, parents who never married, and in particular, mothers who must raise their children with little or no assistance or support—financial or otherwise—from a husband.

One out of every eight children now lives in a single parent home. Therefore, it is important that we face the problems experienced by these families and look to see what helps them most. But, we also have good reasons to believe that the traditional nuclear family is still the desired standard for our Nation's basic social unit. George Gallup, in testimony before this subcommittee, revealed the evidence that Americans hope and aspire for an intact, traditional nuclear family. The majority of marriages do not end in divorce. The majority of children are still raised to adulthood by both of their parents at home together.

Therefore, we must try to see to it that Americans are aided in achieving their goals by providing for stronger, nuclear families. This can be done by first acknowledging the serious premarital, marital, and child development problems that can be prevented or corrected. Then, discussions can follow about the proper level of involvement by the Government, supplementing moral responsibilities of individual citizens, the churches, and other social institutions.

As the chairman of the first and only Senate subcommittee which includes family in its title, I feel an obligation to use the facts which are being collected through these hearings and investigations to see that all legislation passed by the Senate benefits American families. I join with many of my contemporaries who agree with the classical philosophers who saw a nation as a family of families. The Theodosian Code of the Roman Empire, still provides an important reminder for today's lawmakers: "A happy family multiplied 10,000 times means a happy empire, and a sick family multiplied 10,000 times means a sick empire."

Personally, from my experience in the Senate over the past 3 years, I know that one Senate subcommittee cannot possibly address all of the issues and problems which American families face.

That is why I took the lead in forming the Senate caucus on the family.

We are also asking the Senate to consider establishing a Special Committee on Family, Youth, and Children, so that Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, can move toward a consensus on the policies of the past which are inappropriate policies for the future. I am also undertaking additional activities in this direction.

I believe that concerned people on both the left and the right may be ready to discuss ways to strengthen the fragile, and in some instances, broken family structures as a most important way to strengthen American life. I am committed to take part in such discussions which, I believe, will lead toward common solutions.

The problems today are of life-or-death urgency, but are by no means new.

I found this quotation by Theodore Roosevelt very refreshing. He has relatives here in town, and I hope that they are familiar with this quotation.

In March 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt addressed the First International Congress in America on the Welfare of the Child. Here is what he said:

> There are exceptional women, there are exceptional men, who have other tasks to perform in addition to, not in substitution for, the task of motherhood and fatherhood, the task of providing for the home and of keeping it. But it is the tasks connected with the home that are the fundamental tasks of humanity. After all, we can get along for the time being with an inferior quality of success in other lines, political or business, or of any kind; because if there are failings in such matters we can make them good in the next generation; but if the mother does not do her duty, there will either be no next generation, or a next generation that is worse than none at all. In other words, we cannot as a Nation get along at all if we haven't the right kind of home life. Such a life is not only the supreme duty, but also the supreme reward of duty. Every rightly constituted woman or man, if she or he is worth her or his salt, must feel that there is no such ample reward to be found anywhere in life as the reward of children, the reward of a happy family life.

Just 10 years ago, the predecessor to this Subcommittee on Family and Human Services, the Subcommittee on Children and Youth, held a series of hearings on American Families: Trends and Pressures. The chairman of that subcommittee was Senator Walter Mondale, Democrat, Minnesota.

In a discussion with one of his witnesses, the late Margaret Mead, former Vice President Mondale deduced:

> . . . I have worked on practially all the human problems . . . and increasingly reached a conclusion that is not very profound. It all begins with the family. That is the key institution in American life. If it breaks down, if it is unable to do what society has assumed it will do, then all of these other problems develop.

When he referred to work on the human problems, he meant the social programs of the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Unfortunately, during the past decade, some human problems have grown and new ones have emerged. The factors having a negative impact on the family are not subsiding. But has there been sufficient exposure of these problems and factors? And where are my other colleagues on this subcommittee and others, who have not attended these hearings or yet taken the time to consider the findings of this subcommittee?

As Senators, I believe we must take time to look carefully at the data about and the consequences of broken families. The fate of the Nation, as well as the simple happiness of men, women, and children, hangs in the balance. Others agree and that is why 29 Senators have joined with Senator DeConcini and me to form the Senate caucus on the family. The caucus will be holding a luncheon meeting with Secretary Margaret Heckler later this month to begin discussing areas of common concern that can be addressed across committee lines.

I have been observing the establishment and work of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families and I commend the chairman, Representative George Miller, Democrat, California, and the ranking minority member, Representative Dan Marriott, Republican, Utah, for their bipartisan effort on factfinding and issue building on important issues to children and families.

In conclusion, I would like to acknowledge that the strength of American families lies in its capacity to span time and generations. The problems of America's families are not hot political issues since the trends of the problem are not conspicuous within a 2-year session of the Congress, and a 4-year term of a President, or even a 6-year term of a Senator. Only the family looks ahead to generations to come. And only a nation that looks to the sustained health of her families looks after her own survival.

I did not read my entire opening statement.

I ask that the entire written statement be inserted in the hearing record as if read in full, and I so order that, without objection.

[The full text of Senator Denton's opening statement follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR DENTON

Senator **DENTON**. I would like to welcome the witnesses and guests to the fourth in a series of hearings on the topic of family breakdown. Today's hearing will focus on the role of government in helping prevent the break-up of families and in ameliorating the negative consequences for members of broken families. We have a distinguished group of witnesses gathered here this morning, and I am honored that they have agreed to take the time out of their busy schedules to be with us.

Dorcas Hardy, Assistant Secretary for Human Development Services at the Department of Health and Human Services has kindly agreed to present a broad overview of the areas of Federal government policies that have an impact on the family.

Then we will have panel in which Mrs. Diane Ahrens, an elected official from St. Paul, Minnesota, joins Mrs. Johnson and Dr. Mays in describing local public and private services programs which help families, and to discuss how government can encourage such programs. We shall conclude with a second panel consisting of three well-known scholars and authors who view the problems of family breakdown from widely varying perspectives.

Betty Friedan, a leader of the women's movement of the 1960's, has agreed to explore with us her view of how the women of the 1980's are reconciling the feminist perspective with the needs for love, children, family, home, and how she thinks the government has helped or hindered this reconciliation.

George Gilder, a critical analyst of the poverty programs established in the 1960's, will discuss ways he believes government can change the system to eliminate the "welfare trap" for millions of single women and their children.

Brigitte Berger, a sociologist who's studying the family issues, will discuss her views on the centrality of certain family issues which, if addressed by the Federal government, will strengthen the nuclear family. So we have a full morning ahead of us and I urge you all—media and public guests alike—to stay with us throughout the entire hearing.

At our first two hearings in the series on Broken Families, which were held in March of this year, we learned some sobering facts about the effects of family breakups on children, women and men. At the third hearing, held on September 22, we focused on the causes of family breakdown and on its implications for our society.

These hearings, held by this subcommittee throughout 1983, have yielded important data and useful recommendations concerning the American phenomenon of "broken families". I have been seeking the facts about family breakdown so that my work as Chairman of this Subcommittee can be supported with answers to the questions:

What are the causes of family break-ups?

What re-marital guidance and activities are effective in preventing the dissolution of marriages and family breakdowns?

What services, programs and laws can improve the well-being of the victims of family breakdowns—children, youth, women and men?

Let me make clear how we chose to define the term "broken family". By that phrase we mean more than just the family broken up by divorce. We also mean parents who live apart, parents who never married, and in particular, mothers who must raise their children with little or no assistance or support—financial or otherwise—from a husband.

One out of every eight children now lives in a single parent home. Therefore, it is important that we face the problems experienced by these families and look to see what helps them most. But, we also have good reason to believe that the traditional, nuclear family is still the desired standard for our Nation's basic social unit. George Gallup, in testimony before this Subcommittee revealed the evidence that Americans hope and aspire for an intact, traditional nuclear family. The majority of marriages do not end in divorce. The majority of children are still being raised to adulthood by both of their parents at home together.

Therefore, we must try to see to it that Americans are aided in achieving their goals by providing for stronger, nuclear families. This can be accomplished by first acknowledging the serious pre-marital, marital and child development problems that can be prevented or corrected. Then, discussions can follow about the proper level of involvement by the government, supplementing moral responsibilities of individual citizens, the churches and other social institutions.

In addition to the Broken Families series of hearings, this Subcommittee conducted hearings during April to gather current information about other areas under its jurisdiction, which, though not directly concerned with family break-down, are related to family well-being. These hearings dealt with the following subjects:

The extent to which there is withholding of care to seriously ill, handicapped infants in hospitals;

The causes of child abuse, and the best prevention and treatment programs available to stop violence within the family;

The obstacles which exist to the adoption of children in need of loving families, and

The role volunteers can play in the effective and efficient delivery of human services programs.

Legislation to re-authorize the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment and Adoption Opportunities Act as well as the Community Volunteer Service Act was written by this Subcommittee. Those bills were reported out with unanimous agreement by members of the full Labor and Human Resources Committee, chaired by Senator Orrin Hatch. They now await final passage by the Congress.

As the Chairman of the first and only Senate Subcommittee which includes "Family" in its title, I feel an obligation to use the facts which are being collected through these hearings and investigations to see that all legislation passed by the Senate benefits American families. I join with many of my contemporaries who agree with the classical philosophers who saw a nation as a "family of families". The Theodosian Code of the Roman Empire, still provides an important reminder for today's law makers: "A happy family multiplied ten thousand times means a happy empire, and a sick family multiplied ten thousand times means a sick empire."

Personally, from my experience in the Senate over the past three years, I know that one Senate subcommittee cannot possibly address all of the issues and problems which American families face. That is why I took the lead in forming the Caucus on the Family.

We are also asking the Senate to consider establishing a Special Committee on Family, Youth and Children, so that Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, can move toward a consensus on the policies of the past which are inappropriate policies for the future. I am also undertaking additional activities in this direction.

I believe that concerned people on both the left and the right may be ready to discuss ways to strengthen the fragile, and in some instances, broken family structures as a most important way to strengthen American life. I am committed to take part in such discussions which, I believe, will lead toward common solutions.

I believe there are solutions on which we can agree because there are so many alarming problems which we all see. I would like to take the opportunity now to briefly summarize the serious problems which plague the American family today, as they have been brought to my attention from the broken families hearings.

American families are demonstrably devastated by divorce. Job security is shaken. The family's income is lowered significantly. Children suffer not only psychologically, but educationally. Less than half of the mothers receive child support payments from the fathers. This results in a higher rate of poverty in families headed by a female, compared to husband-wife families. The effects are generally serious and, in many cases, enduring for all involved in the divorcing family.

However, this is not to say that divorce must be avoided at all costs. There are human circumstances which become so violent, destructive and irreconcilable that divorce may, in fact, be necessary. However, I am firmly convinced that as a civilized and educated society, we must examine the causes of divorce and encourage policies and programs that help families, as well as young people preparing for marriage, avoid the over-use of divorce as a solution to family problems.

The number of out-of-wedlock births has more than quadrupled since 1950 and has nearly doubled just during the 1970's. Among blacks, over half of all births now occur to unmarried women. Families being formed without marriage are having a profoundly negative economic and structural impact on our country.

Government policies of the 1980's will have to focus on the welfare reforms needed to alleviate these negative factors. For example, the expansion of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program from an initial focus on widows, in the 1930's, to its current focus on very young, never-married women has resulted in perverse situations for many families.

It seems that too many of us lack the disciplines of honest labor; or striving for pre-marital chastity and marital fidelity; of responsible child-rearing. The breakdown of family responsibilities among fathers can be directly linked to an over-dependency on government welfare by mothers. The corresponding "feminization of poverty", however, holds negative consequences for more than just women: the future of their children is also at stake.

The women's movement, combined with the revolution in sexual mores, has in many instances come to violate the basic and human needs for intimacy, sex and regeneration within the family. Radical feminists' expounding on such themes as: "man as enemy", "motherhood and family as oppressors of women", have created terrible chasms of communication between men and women, as well as between women and women, and even between adults and children. However, there are positive signs that these revolutionary slogans are being muffled.

At the same time, another sort of revolution in attitudes towards roles of the sexes is occurring. In 1981, 52 percent of the women of working age were in the work force, compared to 20 percent who worked outside the home in 1900. One of the steepest increases has come in the percentage of women with children under 6 years of age who are in the labor force: that percentage is now nearly half.

Women have moved into the work force, in ever expanding numbers, with ever increasing success, and in many cases, ever decreasing time spent at home. Now, we are troubled about the appropriate role and time allocation required from both parents, particularly the mother's nurturing role for proper child-rearing, when both parents are working. Some would like us to believe that we can return to the teamwork of the past where both the husband and wife can share equivalently in both the financial support and physical care of the family. And yet, in a recent poll of women ages 21–35 by Parents magazine, 60 percent of the women regard their family life as their greatest accomplishment. When asked to choose which is most important to them, being a wife and mother or their work outside their home, 60 percent chose wife and mother and 18 percent chose work. I hope we will hear various viewpoints on the phenomenon of women with children entering the work force.

Coping with adolescent pregnancy in the United States, which has one of the highest levels in the developed world, is one of the mandated legislative areas of concern for this Subcommittee. According to a recent study by Princeton University's Office of Population Research: of 30 countries studied, only Hungary and Rumania had higher adolescent pregnancy rates than the United States.

The consequences when children try to raise children do not add up to stronger American families. Uncounted but real social costs escalate tremendously as single mothers join the welfare ranks and poorly reared children grow into problem citizens.

The Adolescent Family Life Demonstration Projects Act of 1981 was agreed to by Republicans and Democrats alike, because comprehensive services to the pregnant adolescent and her family during and after her pregnancy are solely needed. But, the Adolescent Family Life law has also focused attention on preventive programs which include parents so that they can participate as sex educators of their children, and encourage their teenagers to postpone sexual intercourse until they are older and married.

I firmly believe that our young people should know that sex is beautiful and joyful. But I am as firmly convinced that the role the Federal government has been playing in facilitating and encouraging adolescent sexual activity without parental knowledge or participation in the decision to use prescription birth control and devices is deadly wrong.

We have the results of nation-wide polls that show that the majority of Americans agree with the importance of parental notification. We also have the results from the State of Utah, where a strong parental consent law resulted in a decrease in both the pregnancy rate and abortion rate for girls 15–19 years old. The number of teenagers who used family planning clinics in Utah declined by half during 1981, compared to 1980, but without an increase in either pregnancies or abortions.

While we are bound by the decisions of the courts, we must continue to try to reason together about ways to involve parents and families in educating their children about responsible actions involving sex.

The influence of the media on American families is great. For example, concerning the area of sexual mores, The New Republic executive Editor, Morton Kondrake has written: "Parental credibility in counseling 'don't' is being ripped to shreds by television, movies, magazines and records that blare out the consistent message: 'Do it!' 'Everybody does it!' 'Even nice girls do it.' "

It has been estimated that by the time the typical American child reaches the age of reason, he will have viewed 30,000 television "stories" about life's experiences. Research by University of Pennsylvania professor George Gerbner has found that the depiction of Americans by television is distorted, resulting in stereotypes about sex-roles, the elderly, blacks, work and health. Because crime occurs on the television screen ten times more often than that in real life, a "mean-world syndrome" is being created for heavy viewers of television, which includes children and older persons.

Gerbner, further quoted in Newsweek magazine, recommends that television become a political issue: "Every political campaign should put television on the public agenda. Candidates talk about schools . . . jobs . . . social welfare. They're going to have to start discussing this all-pervasive force."

Kondrake agrees, calling upon President Reagan to ". . . speak to his friends in Hollywood about the extent to which they have oversexed American society."

Aside from even PG-rated movies which push the message that "even nice girls do it", the negative influence of hard and soft pornography is one topic on which feminists and I agree. Among other effects, the extent to which the exploitative marketeers of pornography have undercut the value of moral but most truly joyful sex within marriage should not be ignored. For the promotion of the common welfare, governments and consumers alike must find ways to make the media more responsible to viewers, listeners, and readers.

The problems today are of life-or-death urgency, but are by no means new.

In March of 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt addressed the First International Congress in America on the Welfare of the Child. I'd like to share with you, just a small part of what he had to say, because, still today, it holds so true:

There are exceptional women, there are exceptional men, who have other tasks to perform in addition to, not in substitution for, the task of motherhood and fatherhood, the task of providing for the home and of keeping it. But it is the tasks connected with the home that are the fundamental tasks of humanity. After all, we can get along for the time being with an inferior quality of success in other lines, political, or business, or of any kind; because if there are failings in such matters we can make them good in the next generation; but if the mother does not do her duty, there will either be no next generation, or a next generation that is worse than none at all. In other words, we cannot as a nation get along at all if we haven't the right kind of home life. Such a life is not only the supreme duty, but also the supreme reward of duty. Every rightly constituted woman or man, if she or he is worth her or his salt, must feel that there is no such ample reward to be found anywhere in life as the reward of children, the reward of a happy family life.

Just ten years ago, the predecessor to this Subcommittee on Family and Human Services, the Subcommittee on Children and Youth, held a series of hearings on "American Families: Trends and Pressures." The Chairman of that Subcommittee was Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN).

In a discussion with one of his witnesses, the late Margaret Mead, former Vice President Mondale deduced: ". . . I have worked on practically all the human problems . . . and increasingly reached a conclusion that is not very profound. It all begins with the family. That is the key institution in American life. If it breaks down, if it is unable to do what society has assumed it will do, then all of these other problems develop." When he referred to work on the human problems, he meant the social programs of the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Unfortunately, during the past decade, some human problems have grown and new ones have emerged. The factors having a negative impact on the family are not subsiding. But has there been sufficient exposure of these problems and factors? And where are my other colleagues on this Subcommittee and others, who have not attended these hearings or yet taken the time to consider the findings of this Subcommittee?

As Senators, I believe we must take time to look carefully at the data about and the consequences of broken families. The fate of the nation, as well as the simple happiness of men, women and children, hangs in the balance. Others agree and that is why twenty-nine Senators have joined with Senator DeConcini and me to form the Senate Caucus on the Family. The Caucus will be holding a luncheon meeting with Secretary Margaret Heckler later this month to begin discussing areas of common concern that can be addressed across committee lines.

I have been observing the establishment and work of the House of Representative's Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families and I commend the Chairman, Representative George Miller (D-CA), and the Ranking Minority member, Representative Dan Marriott (R-UT), for their bipartisan effort on fact-finding and issue-building on important issues to children and families.

Based on the House of Representatives' example, I believe that the Senate should have a comparable special committee, with budget and staff to work in a bipartisan way on building up the Senate's record of concern for families, youth and children. That is why I have introduced, along with Senator DeConcini and Senator Hatch, Senate Resolution 185, to establish a temporary Special Committee on Family, Youth and Children. I urge all of my Senate colleagues—including those who are members of the Caucus on the Family as well as those members of the Children's Caucus—to join in a common cause to see a special, temporary Senate Committee established to focus on family and children's issues.

In conclusion, I'd like to acknowledge that the strength of American families lies in its capacity to span time and generations. The problems of America's families are not hot political issues since the trends of the problem are not conspicuous within a two year session of the Congress, a four year term of a President, or even a six year term of a Senator. Only the family looks ahead to generations to come. And only a nation that looks to the sustained health of her families looks after her own survival.

Senator DENTON. I welcome again our first witness, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, Ms. Dorcas Hardy, to the subcommittee.

Ms. Hardy has testified a number of times before this subcommittee, and it is always a pleasure to have her here.

Will you begin your remarks, please?

STATEMENT OF DORCAS R. HARDY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT SERVICES, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, ACCOMPANIED BY JERRY REGIER, DIRECTOR, OFFICE FOR FAMILIES; AND DAVID A. RUST, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLICY COORDINATION AND REVIEW, OHDS

Ms. HARDY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today to look at Government policies and programs that benefit families and promote family stability, and also to discuss ways in which Government policies might be improved.

I have with me today, on my left, Jerry Regier, who is the Associate Commissioner, Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, and Director of the Office of Families; and on my right, David Rust, Director of the Office of Policy Coordination in Human Development Services.

I have submitted my testimony for the record, and I would like to take this opportunity to highlight parts of it.

Senator **Denton**. Excuse me, Ms. Hardy. May I say for the record, without objection, it is ordered that all of Ms. Hardy's written statement be included in the record.

[The following was received for the record.].

Senator **Denton**. Go ahead.

Ms. **Hardy**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I believe that we are all aware of the tapestry which is the family, a tapestry which should be interwoven with sharing and caring, and a fabric made of threads of marital responsibility, kinship, and love. It is within the family that we learn charity, friendship, self-control, responsibility, health, and discipline. It is within the family that we come to understand the proper use of leisure, the development of our natural talents, the value of sincerity, perseverance, love of country, and other attributes. We know that not all families are equally successful in all of these endeavors.

You are convening this hearing and I am here today because we all believe that a major aspect in the revitalization of America is indeed focusing upon and building upon family strengths.

This administration is committed to achieving three goals regarding Federal interaction with families and the institutions that affect them.

First, to expand the State and local responsibility for all facets of planning and implementing social services while simultaneously reducing the Federal role.

Second, to insure that the formulation and implementation of social service legislation and programs is based upon the principle that the well-being of the public is primarily an individual, family, and a community responsibility.

Third, to promote the concept that when social services are indeed needed, they are best defined and delivered through public or private institutions at that level which is closest to the problem.

The role of the Federal Government in meeting social needs then becomes: One, to adopt and implement national policies that are aimed at promoting economic growth and prosperity, and thereby reducing the need for social services;

Two, to target Federal budgetary support toward those persons who are indeed most in need; and

Three, to address those social service needs that cannot be responded to at the State level, or that might require interstate or national orientation.

With these three goals in mind, I would like to address some of the principles that will guide us, and have guided us as public policymakers, as we seek to enhance the role of individuals, and the role of families. These three principles form a fundamental approach to building family strengths, whether from a Federal perspective or from a community perspective.

The first is: The family is the primary social unit of our society. We already know and recognize the importance of the family to each of us as individuals, and we also recognize the essential functions performed for society by the family.

Therefore, we see the family as an essential unit of society, and not only an economic unit.

Two, prevention of family dissolution is vital. In the past decade alone, I believe you know there has been a sevenfold increase in single parent families, and such families now constitute 20 percent of all families with children. More than half of these families are poor or near poor. Ninety percent of these families are headed by women.

We know that family dissolution forces many people into poverty. Census Bureau figures suggest that when a father, for instance, leaves his family, he often ignores his responsibilities, and leaves his wife and children without any financial support. He knows that if he abandons his family, and they become impoverished, the Government will take over the responsibility that should be his, that of providing for his family.

The single parent family is a significant factor in the Nation's current poverty figures. We are, however, seeing some positive signs. Contrary to our national sense concerning this subject, the majority of marriages do not now end in divorce or separation. However, when family dissolution does take place, then we need to be supportive and not judgmental.

Our third principle is: Promotion of family self-sufficiency and independence. While we strive to prevent family dissolution, we do recognize that there are many families who are in need. The Federal Government needs to continue to be a factor in meeting the needs of these families. As these services are given, the encouragement and skills for self-sufficiency and independent living must also be provided. The necessary grassroots support networks need to be organized, as many of them have been throughout this country, so that families can prepare to meet their own needs, and prevent reoccurrence of problems which are within their power to control.

Now, I would like to look at what we are doing in terms of public policy to build upon these principles in order to strengthen families.

Let me articulate some directions that we are taking through our new "Families Initiative." Building on the core programs administered by the Office of Human Development Services, we have charged ourselves with providing leadership to Federal, State, and local governments, to community organizations and other networks and families to promote family self-sufficiency, and to prevent family dissolution.

As you know, all of the programs administered by HDS are geared to support the family. Although they could be and have been described as categorical programs for children, developmentally disabled, elderly and native Americans, we see them as integral to the support of families and communities. As a result, we are making a very special effort to insure a family focus to all of the programs that we support at the Federal level.

The Head Start program is certainly a good example. Programs like Head Start already have a strong family focus through the parent involvement component.

The Foster Care and Adoption Assistance programs are another example. Since the passage of Public Law 96-272, States have focused efforts on preventing family breakup, by emphasizing programs to divert children from unnecessary placement in foster care, to emphasize reuniting families, and to afford greater protections for the children in care.

There are also many successful adoption efforts which are going on throughout this country, and I have recently shared with you many of our successes with the national special needs adoption initiative.

In the area of child abuse and neglect, it is estimated that more than 1 million children are abused and neglected each year. In many cases, it is their own parents who inflict the harm.

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect addresses these difficult family problems through grants to the States, as well as a variety of research and demonstration projects across the country. As you know, the administration has proposed that the Child Abuse and Neglect Prevention and Treatment Act be reauthorized for 3 more years.

Family support is also a strong element of services to the developmentally disabled. Almost 80 percent of the developmentally disabled are living with family members or relatives. This places demands on these families that the community can assist in addressing.

One of the issues we are working on is the lack of support for developmentally disabled adults, young adults. To combat this alarming phenomenon, we are pursuing employment strategies with major employers, model trust arrangements with local communities, demonstration projects designed to develop coping skills, and other means of support for family members.

So far I have highlighted just some of the activities of the Office of Human Development Services which reinforce family strengths. We are also looking at ways that we can work together across the Federal Government to strengthen families.

For example, we look forward to working with the new task force on domestic violence, and we are presently represented on the White House Task Force on Missing Children. Of course, there are other significant programs in the Department of Health and Human Services that affect the stability of the family.

The aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) program meets the needs of children who are deprived of support due to the death, incapacity or continued absence of a parent, and in some States the unemployment of a parent. AFDC is a program of last resort, and addresses the current needs of children in primarily female-headed households, who are already the victims of family dissolution.

While we recognize the concern about the effects of welfare policies on families, there is little or no research, or empirical evidence as to whether the current welfare system encourages marital dissolution by prohibiting assistance when both parents remain in the home.

On the other hand, we believe some of the existing features of the AFDC program, and several of the administration's current legislative proposals, do strengthen the formation of family units.

For example, there are two ways in which we believe we can insure that neither parent in an AFDC family views the program as a means by which they can relinquish their responsibilities to support their children.

First, with regard to the parents in the household and receiving welfare, we provide work experience and opportunities aimed at moving the family quickly into self-support.

Second, with regard to an absent father, we want to make it very clear that absence from the home should not lessen his support obligation.

As Secretary Heckler has repeatedly stated, it is currently a national disgrace that only one out of four families with absent fathers receives regular child support payments, when $4 billion is owed children of this Nation.

The administration is proposing to strengthen child support enforcement measures to insure that absent parents cannot desert their families and let the Government assume the burden of support.

Regarding the delivery of family planning services, our current emphasis is to increase the involvement of families in the delivery of these services.

Despite efforts in the public and the private sector to reduce the incidence of adolescent pregnancy, the problem continues to be alarming. As a result of the leadership of this subcommittee, and you, as chairman, the adolescent family life bill was enacted in 1981. That bill has as its hallmark a belief in the role of the family in instilling responsible attitudes and in inspiring responsible social behavior on the part of teenagers.

Other major Department programs with potentially significant impact on the family are the major Federal health programs, medicare and medicaid. Under the medicare and medicaid programs, elderly and disabled individuals can continue to remain in their homes, and at the same time receive necessary medical services.

In addition to the regular home health services covered under medicaid, States may apply for waivers of certain program requirements, so that they can implement cost-effective programs at home, and community-based care.

As of September 1, 36 States are operating 48 programs of home and community-based services, with an additional 39 waiver requests under review.

Finally, beginning November 1, medicare will cover hospice care provided to terminally ill patients and their families, primarily in their homes.

We plan to continue to assess all of our existing policies and regulations, through what we call a family lens. What policies discourage the maintenance of the family unit? What policies do not support prevention of family breakup? We are encouraging States to do this at their level, as well.

Another basic part of our strategy is to continue to promote public/private/community partnerships in order to build family strengths. In the past, the Government has crowded out much of the voluntary partnerships.

We want to create conditions in which Government, the private sector, and voluntary organizations can work together to achieve goals that Government could never achieve on its own, no matter how much money we put into Government programs.

We have made a beginning. One example is the cooperation that is being achieved in the area of corporate options for working families, particularly concerning child care. We have given significant support, and intend to continue this, in cooperation with the White House task force of private sector initiatives, and their emphasis on employer-supported day care.

We believe strongly that greater public awareness can also help build family strengths and values. Working together with public, private, and voluntary organizations we believe that we can promote a positive national attitude which is based upon family strengths rather than family deficits.

A part of our strategy is to encourage the broader dissemination of information to parents and to families. We believe families need to be made aware of information and resources available, and how to access those resources.

Families have so much to share, and to give. Every family has strengths they can build on, as well as strengths that they can share with others. We need to communicate these strengths within each of our communities.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my prepared remarks. We appreciate this opportunity to share information about some of our efforts with you.

I will be glad to answer any questions that you may have.

Thank you.

Senator DENTON. Thank you very much, Ms. Hardy.

I notice that you had a long opening statement, as I did. Time constraints force us to leave out much in our oral statements which tend to insufficiently qualify some of the things we said. I want to make sure that I get more of the tone of my written statement in my remarks.

I keep referring to broken families and nuclear families, as if once you move from the nuclear family to the broken family it is a great tragedy, and it no longer is a social unit. You can make that inference from that which I said. In the full text of my remarks that is not implied.

I was raised myself by a single parent. I think my mother did a reasonably good job. She was certainly a heroine. I do think that she, my three brothers and I were a healthy social unit of this Nation. I do not mean to imply otherwise.

I also know there are many other heroines, like my mother, and increasing numbers of heroes, men who are raising their children when their wives, in some cases, just plain cop out, and do not do their jobs.

I also want to make a distinction regarding policy. I believe that the Government may have been overplaying the policy with respect to helping the families which are broken up, without looking at the causes. This is why the thrust of my oral statement was the way it was. Without helping families which are about to form—

with the likelihood that they will stay together—or helping families which are already formed stay together should be a virtue of future policy. That is, we must do certain things while refraining from doing certain other things that decrease the probability that nuclear families will stay together. I think, in most every case, the children, the mothers, and the fathers who are separated, would agree that being a nuclear family is the ideal situation. That is the real tone of what I meant to say.

Now, to support you, Ms. Hardy, yes, we do deal with many other family-related issues. This subcommittee, as you know, has this year, in hearings and legislation, dealt with such issues, not directly related with family breakdown, but related to family well-being, such as withholding care to seriously ill, handicapped infants in hospitals, the causes of child abuse, and the best prevention and treatment programs available to stop violence within the family, and the obstacles which exist to the adoption of children in need of loving families. I note in your written testimony you refer to Father Clements in Chicago. As you know, that at this subcommittee was the first time Father Clements and the one church/one child program made a governmental appearance.

I cannot help referring again to the man's inspirational idea. He happens to be a black Catholic priest in Chicago who decried the number of black children who are uncared for in his city, in his neighborhood, and in his parish. He thought up the idea of each church adopting one child, to take the child off the streets, and to give him or her loving care. One family within each church adopting one child, at least. The first time he gave the sermon, he had scores of families willing to adopt children within his church. That idea we are trying to help get around the country.

Now, back to the purview of this subcommittee, the Head Start program is under this subcommittee's jurisdiction. We have this year reauthorized the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment and Adoption Opportunities Act, as well as the Community Volunteer Service Act. These bills were reported out with unanimous agreement by members of the full Labor and Human Resources Committee, chaired by Senator Hatch, and they now await final passage by the Congress.

Ms. Hardy referred to the adolescent family life law, which was lampooned by the media, while it was being led through the Senate by this Senator. But it was voted out of this committee without a negative vote including the support of such members as Senators Ted Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum. So the law is not quite as it has been portrayed.

Ms. Hardy, how will the American people know what is being accomplished through HHS's families initiative, which is described on page 8 of your written testimony?

How will they know of the availability of the programs, or what this administration is doing to follow up on its promise? You showed me some interesting posters today.

Ms. HARDY. We anticipate, Senator, that there will be a many-pronged approach. The Office of Human Development Services, through its various program administration, serves many populations: Children in need of families, the elderly, the disabled, and native Americans. It is the responsibility of each of the administrations to concentrate on using discretionary funds in the area of strengthening families.

For example, we provided a grant last year to train Camp Fire Girls on the west coast, to provide respite care to families of the developmentally disabled. That was a public and private partnership effort. There will be other examples like that in the next fiscal year.

I also will use the families' poster that we developed to increase public awareness and will distribute materials throughout the country, with the help of some of the voluntary organizations. Through this effort we will be able to reach a lot of persons.

I think it is a question of rebuilding the American spirit, and that is what we are trying to communicate through our poster.

Senator, I would also like to comment on "one church, one child" with Father Clements. I had the opportunity to meet with him last week, and you might be interested to know that the Office of Human Development Services has, shall I say, put his show on the road. We believe that there are a lot of one church, one child programs that can spring up around this country, beyond the environs of Chicago.

Senator **Denton**. How did you do it? What aid did you give to him?

Ms. **Hardy**. We gave a grant of $150,000 for Father Clements to use for a small staff and travel; most of the grant is for travel. He has been, and continues to be constantly on the road and around the country, promoting this idea.

Senator **Denton**. I wonder if you would agree that a good, efficient expenditure of Federal moneys in the whole area of helping families would be to assist—much in the way that you assisted Father Clements—groups which are already working with volunteer impetus. These efforts can work with efficiency because of the expertise that has been developed over the years. Can't HHS help such groups by giving them a little fuel, rather than doing it bureaucratically through governmental channels?

Ms. **Hardy**. We believe we can. Another example is in the area of child abuse prevention. We have given seed money to Parents Anonymous.

We are also promoting, through our next discretionary grant announcement, a program which will be funded after the first of the calendar year using parent aides. This program has worked throughout the country. Seed money will be used around the country to involve parental volunteers in preventing the break up of the family because of an abuse problem in that family.

I see our roles being very much that of a catalyst, not trying to take over the prerogatives of the family.

Senator **Denton**. Frankly, I did not know that you had such a proportion of emphasis on "whole families," if you will.

What proportion of your budget for OHDS is targeted on whole families, rather than on groups of people, or on individual benefits?

I know it is almost impossible to answer that, but I would like to know.

Ms. **Hardy**. Almost all of our funding, which is $6 billion, has to do with moving toward family intergration, self-sufficiency, and economic development. In the large title XX Social Services Block

Grant, much of the funds are used for prevention and child protective services, which help keep the child at home, if at all possible.

A great deal of our discretionary dollars, I would estimate about $25 million, are targeted on issues that affect families.

Senator **Denton**. What is the budget of the Office for Families, compared to the budget for all other offices in OHDS?

Ms. **Hardy**. The Office for Families does not have a specific line item budget. The role of the Office for Families is to provide leadership, and it has worked carefully with all of the other HDS programs, to continue to provide that leadership.

Senator **Denton**. You indicate that 58 percent of mothers with children under 6 are now in the labor force, and that nearly two in 5 American families supplement primary parental care with alternative child care arrangements.

Faced with that, I can appreciate the administration's interest in promoting employers' support of child care, and in training low income women on how to provide child care for profit. This is a less ambitious policy than some might wish.

I, however, am concerned with the more fundamental question of the wisdom of Federal policies that promote early childhood rearing in an institutional setting, or in the home of an individual who may have only modest parenting skills.

Do you believe that we know enough about the impact that these arrangements have on child development over the long term? For example, when we are dealing with the whole field of adolescent pregnancy we find children rearing children—or trying to. Now that the emphasis of 97 percent of the young mothers is trying to parent their children, as opposed to less than 5 percent a generation or so ago. The system seems to be set up to encourage immaturing parenting, rather than encouraging better decisions about who can best parent these children.

Go ahead.

Ms. **Hardy**. I think there are two items here. One, we should keep open the options for all kinds of child care, and two, most infants and smaller children are cared for in family settings. We are looking at the whole issue of the impact of day care on children as we go through our next research process.

We are also concerned that there be some guidelines, or suggestions that local groups can use, if they want to, as they form family day care centers, that they can turn to these kinds of guidelines.

There are a number of day care options available for the 2- to 5-year-year old child and those range obviously from family day care to Head Start, including many subsidized child care placements, as well as voluntary nonsubsidized placements.

Senator **Denton**. You mentioned that public well-being is primarily the responsibility of individuals and families.

I would like to remind us every now and then that the Government, when it was first set up, took families for granted. Families were sticking together, even having been in hardship situations in most cases. The constitutional mandate was and still is to provide for the common defense. There is no way of sneaking out from under that burden. The Government must provide for the common defense, not, however, promote it. Promoting the general welfare is the other constitutional mandate.

The general welfare mostly comes from the family, from private enterprise, that sort of thing, and we seem to be getting a bit confused about whose prerogative or mandate is whose.

In the area of family policy, the Government has neither promoted nor provided for family strength. It has sapped the family of its strength in too many cases. For example, I am thinking of the policy of providing welfare payments primarily to unmarried adults, and children with children. Other examples include title X, family planning, in where sex education is too often promoting premarital sex, and contraceptives are given to unmarried minors without parental consent. These problems are not getting any better, they are getting worse.

I know that the administration is trying to address those problems. Are there other areas of antifamily policy remaining, which you believe should be addressed?

Ms. HARDY. We have looked at all of the programs in the Department of Health and Human Services. We are trying to address policies that do not support the family through our suggested legislative proposals.

One example is the child support enforcement provisions that have been proposed.

Other examples are the discussions that we have had with regard to family planning regulations, and the very significant changes in the medicaid and medicare waiver situation, which make it possible for the individual to remain at home, in a family setting, and not be institutionalized. I think that whole concept of deinstitutionalization, and support for that concept at the local level, will continue. It is something that we are very pleased with, and want to promote.

Senator DENTON. I'd like to discuss the media, which have tremendous influence on us, not the least of which bears on our sexual mores. The media does have something to do with attitudes, which affect favorably or unfavorably the chance of the family to stay together.

I cannot help noting as I have at past hearings, that before I was a captain in Vietnam, the most amazing thing I saw in a movie was Clark Gable as Rhett Butler saying, "Frankly, my dear, I do not give a damn." I will never forget the thrill that went through that audience.

Then when I came home from Vietnam, there were X-rated movies, which I had never heard of, massage parlors, et cetera.

Now we have PG movies, which are pushing the girls into the belief that "even nice girls do it" before they are married, that is. The feminists and I agree wholeheartedly on the effect of pornography and its efficaciousness, or lack thereof.

Morton Kondrake of the New Republic stated recently that the President should go, talk to his friends in Hollywood about the extent to which they have oversexed America.

I do not know whether they have oversexed it, or perverted it, but there is something in that direction.

And I am saying these things to try to bridge between the feminists and the so-called profamily groups, the conservatives and the liberals, Republicans and Democrats. Morton Kondrake is a Democrat, I guess. He is certainly a liberal, and is the executive editor of the New Republic. I admire what he says on these topics, as I do other liberals, such as Kathleen Kennedy Townsend and Eunice Kennedy Shriver.

Has the Secretary of HHS, or indeed other HHS officials, seen any connection between family problems and the lack of code imposed, voluntarily, by the movie and television producers?

Have you all thought of any ideas about persuading the media to present healthier, more positive family images? For example, there is so much on television, proclaiming, the only sex that is any fun is outside of marriage. The role models are pretty bad.

I am reminded of a young man from, the Guardian Angels, who said that what is needed in those ghettoes, and those places where gangs fight all the time are role models. He said that they saw no good role models on television. He mentioned that even the songs are perverse. He was a good example of someone who had come out of it, but many do not survive.

Have you all thought of turning your attention to that part of the problem which is affected by the media?

Ms. **Hardy**. We have considered working with public broadcasting, for example, National Public Radio, in developing radio spots and short TV pieces that would focus on values, and would address some of your concerns.

I do not have the answers as to how to eliminate the negative images. We could stress positive images.

Senator **Denton**. Well, if we could just show that there is an effect, an important effect. That would be the role, I would think, of your department, and perhaps this subcommittee. I think that others who might have to deal with the Federal Communications Commission would benefit from our looking and dealing tangibly, with the harm that is being done to happiness and social structure by that kind of media influence.

Ms. **Hardy**. I concur.

Senator **Denton**. You also mentioned in your statement child abuse and neglect prevention treatment programs. The administration this year supported strengthening the definition of sexual abuse in the program's is reauthorization, by dropping the phrase "for commercial purposes" from existing law.

This change in the Senate version of the bill will help make it clear that all obscene or pornographic photographing, filming and depiction of a child is damaging.

Can you tell me if there is any estimate of how much sexual abuse of children is associated with the increased prevalence of child pornography, and is the administration making any other efforts to deal with the problem?

Ms. **Hardy**. There has recently been established, or will soon be established, a White House Working Group on Pornography. We anticipate that we will be working closely with them, as we are with the White House or Task Force on Missing Children. I think there is a direct link between those two problems.

One of our concerns is that we do not have a real handle on how many children are affected by child pornography. I think the estimates are as many as 5,000 children are killed through pornography each year. I believe we could work very closely with law enforcement agencies to try to push the States to pass some very tough laws in this area.

Senator **Denton**. Well, thank you very much, Ms. Hardy, and thank you Mr. Regier and Mr. Rust for your testimony here this morning. It certainly is a valuable contribution to our findings.

I will ask the next panel to come forward.

I will ask each of them to limit their statements to 10 minutes. Their statements will be inserted in the record in full.

Ms. Hardy, we will be sending questions to you for response in 10 days, and the record will remain open for any written questions.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Hardy along with questions and responses follow:]

STATEMENT

OF

DORCAS R. HARDY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT SERVICES

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

BEFORE THE

FAMILY AND HUMAN SERVICES SUBCOMMITTEE

LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES COMMITTEE

UNITED STATES SENATE

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1983

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to appear before this Subcommittee to describe government policies and programs that benefit families and promote family stability and to discuss ways in which government policies might be improved.

We are all aware of the tapestry which is the family: a tapestry interwoven with sharing and caring; a fabric made of the threads of marital responsibility, kinship and love. It is within the family that we learn charity, friendship, self-control, responsibility, health, and discipline. Within the family we come to understand the proper use of leisure, the development of our natural talents, the value of sincerity, perseverance, and love of country. We know that not all families are equally successful in all of these endeavors.

You are convening this hearing and I am here today because we believe that a major aspect in the revitalization of America is focusing upon and building upon family strengths.

President Reagan said recently, "Rebuilding America begins with restoring family strength and preserving family values." This is fundamental to a revitalized America; and I believe that this hearing and the others that you have held on this subject are very significant because you are addressing this vital issue of how to strengthen and support the family.

I would like to talk this morning about "Providing Leadership in Building Family Strength - A Federal Perspective." I will do this first by reviewing our philosophy of the role of government; second by sharing some basic principles upon which we are building policies; and third by discussing public policy strategy for building family strength.

As you know, the Reagan Administration has made a fundamental departure from the past in the conceptualization of the Federal role in regard to social services. For decades, the trend has been to assign to the Federal Government an ever-expanding responsibility for identifying the needs for social services and then planning, funding, and monitoring programs to meet those needs. Most frequently the needs and program responses were organized around special populations This approach has often encouraged a fragmented perspective on how families really operate.

This Administration is committed to achieving three goals regarding Federal interaction with families and the institutions that affect them:

1. Expanding the State and local responsibility for all facets of planning and implementing social services while simultaneously reducing the Federal role.

As part of this strategy, the Administration is utilizing a block grant approach which provides State and local decision-makers the flexibility to continue the categorical approaches of the past or as they seem to prefer, to develop new consolidated approaches to meet social service needs. This consolidated approach also allows for the development of a more holistic family focus.

2. Ensuring that the formulation and implementation of social service legislation and programs is based upon the principle that the well-being of the public is primarily a responsibility of individuals, families, and the communities in which they live.

3. Promoting the concept that when social services are needed, they are best defined and administered through public or private institutions at the level closest to the problem -- State and local governments, area agencies, and local community-based and private voluntary organizations.

The role of the Federal Government in meeting social service needs then becomes:

1. To adopt and implement national policies or programs aimed at promoting economic growth and prosperity and thereby reducing the need for social services;

2. To target Federal budgetary support toward those most in need; and

3. To address those social service needs that cannot be responded to at the State level and that require interstate or national orientation for effective solution. The Federal Government will not abandon its leadership role in such important areas as child abuse, child welfare, aging services, and services for the developmentally disabled.

It may be somewhat surprising that in describing the Federal role in social services our top priority is to adopt policies and programs aimed at promoting economic growth. I believe that it is economic growth within the free enterprise system that creates real job opportunities which allow individuals and families to become and remain economically and socially self-sufficient. In the process, economic growth reduces the size of the poverty population and the need for, and costs associated with, social services. Economic growth, therefore, is both a remedial and a preventive strategy that will benefit many millions of needy American families.

With our three goals in mind, what then are some of the principles that will guide us as public policymakers as we seek to enhance the role of individuals and families? I would like to enumerate three which I believe form a fundamental approach to building family strengths -- whether from a Federal perspective or a community perspective.

1. The Family is the Primary Social Unit of Our Society

We already know and recognize the importance of the family to each of us as individuals; and we also recognize the essential functions performed for society by the family. The family performs the vital role of developing the next generation. Therefore, we see the family as an essential unit of society and not just as an economic unit. This is an important distinction to make as we come to the policy table; because as an essential unit of society the family carries great responsibility for the orderly functioning of that society and for the formation of moral values within that society.

2. Prevention of Family Dissolution is Vital

In the past decade alone, there has been a seven-fold increase in single-parent families, and such families now constitute 20 percent of all families with children. More than half of these families are poor or near poor. Ninety (90) percent of these families are headed by women.

We know that family dissolution forces many people into poverty. If it were not for family instability, poverty would be substantially reduced. There are certainly other factors; however, this fact must be addressed.

Census Bureau figures suggest that when a father, for instance, leaves his family, he often ignores his responsibilities and leaves his wife and children without any financial support. He knows that if he abandons the family and they become impoverished, the government will take over the responsibility that should be his, that of providing for his family. I will address the issue of child support in more detail later in this testimony. I want to point out, however, that one-half of all families headed by women receive some form of public assistance. The single-parent family is a significant factor in the nation's current poverty figures.

This lack of commitment and responsibility in this case on the part of absent fathers is all too common today. And if we are sincerely desirous of preventing family dissolution then we as a government and a nation need to foster a re-kindling of commitment and parental responsibility expressed in child-rearing as well as in marriage.

We are seeing some positive signs. Contrary to our national sense concerning this subject, the majority of marriages do not end in divorce or separation. The National Center for Health Statistics has just revealed that in 1982 we had the first decline in divorces in 20 years.

However, when family dissolution does take place then we must be supportive and not judgemental.

3. Promotion of Family Self Sufficiency and Independence Must be the Goal of Our Programs

While we strive to prevent family dissolution we do recognize that there are many families in need. The Federal Government must continue to be a factor in meeting the needs of poor families, broken families, and adolescent headed families, as well as families with problems of child abuse, runaway youth, disabled members or aging and frail extended family members. Services, assistance, support must be given to these, but with what goal in mind? As these services are given, the encouragement and skills for self-sufficiency and independent living must also be provided. The necessary grassroots support networks should be organized so that families can prepare to meet their own needs and prevent re-occurrence of problems within their power to control.

Public Policy Strategy for Building Family Strength

What then are we doing to build upon these principles through public policy in order to strengthen families? Let me articulate some directions we are taking through our new "Families Initiative". Building on the core programs administered by the Office of Human Development Services (HDS), we have charged ourselves with providing leadership to Federal, state and local governments, community organizations, other networks and families to promote family self sufficiency and to prevent family dissolution.

As you know, all of the programs administered by HDS are geared to support the family. Although they could be described as programs for children, developmentally disabled, elderly individuals and native Americans, we see them as integral to the support of families and communities. As a result, we are making a special effort to insure a family focus to the programs which we support at the Federal level.

Head Start

The Head Start program is an example. There are an estimated 2.2 million children between the ages of three and five in families below the federally defined poverty level. There is ample evidence that early childhood development programs assist these families in preparing their children to better achieve in school and the work place. We also know that the children in many poor families are at significantly higher risk than the non-poor in areas of illness, malnutrition, and access to health and social services. Moreover, these children and their families, because of their economic status, are often at high risk of family dissolution.

Programs like Head Start already have a strong family focus through the parent involvement component. The availability of parent education through the "Exploring Parenting" curriculum is a key factor in serving the whole family rather than just the child. Through this avenue parents are learning the skills of communication which are vitally important to successful parenting and to building family strength. The use of this curriculum as well as other family life materials can be expanded so that many of these parents can be assisted toward social and economic self sufficiency.

We recognize that in order to support the family in its responsibility we must enhance the role of parents in our social service programs. Only as our public policies reflect this enhancement of the parental role can we truly support the primacy of the family in our society.

Foster Care and Adoption Assistance

The Foster Care and Adoption Assistance programs are another example. Prior to the passage of P.L. 96-272 in 1980 the public child welfare system was too quick to take children from their families and too slow to reunite them with their families or to place them in permanent adoptive homes.

Since the passage of P.L. 96-272 States have focused efforts on preventing family break-up by emphasizing programs to divert children from unnecessary placement in foster care, to emphasize reuniting families and to afford greater protections for the children in care.

Our policies are directed at reducing the numbers of children in foster care through preventive services designed to solve family problems or by providing permanent homes for those children who cannot remain with their natural families. Where reconciliation is not possible, the program and its policies promote adoption. An estimated 44,000 children out of a total of 273,000 in the foster care system, many of whom have special needs, need permanent adoptive homes. Adoption assistance enables parents to adopt these children by helping offset the costs associated with special needs. Thus this program too contributes to the well-being of American families -- including the placement of thousands of special needs children in new, stable families.

There are many successful special needs adoption efforts in all parts of the country. In Chicago, Father George Clements, a Catholic Priest and adoptive father, has established the "one church, one child" program. This program has been given a large measure of credit for the significant increase in the number of black children adopted in the State of Illinois. In New York the Pfizer Corporation, a major pharmaceutical firm, helps its employees adopt special needs children through an extensive employee benefits package. And in St. Louis, Denver, San Francisco -- in fact, in about 60 cities -- special TV programs seek to publicize the availability of children in need of a loving family. Agencies working with these stations report a placement rate of more than 80 percent. KRON-TV in San Francisco had 600 calls for the first 16 children featured.

Several weeks ago I saw one of these children, an 11 year old boy, as a TV newscaster asked him what he was looking for in a home. He said, "I just want a Mom I can call my own and she can call me her own."

You see it's personal. Governments do not adopt children; individuals and couples do. But one of the things we can do (and have done) is help start a national adoption exchange which gives photolists of children, matches children to waiting families, recruits adoptive families, promotes public awareness of the needs of children and manages a nationwide telecommunications network. This national exchange coordinates with a growing number of state and regional exhanges.

In Fiscal Year 1984 the child welfare and adoption opportunities programs will assist States to place particular emphasis on preventive services to families and children to avoid placement in foster care. It is our aim to assist States in 1984 to continue to reduce the foster care population and increase permanent placement of children in loving families. We are pleased to report States are successfully improving these child welfare services. Fewer children are entering foster care, with a 5% reduction this year and as of late 1982, over 17,000 children have been placed in adoptive homes. A large percentage of foster care children are being returned to their families through special efforts by States.

Child Abuse and Neglect

In the area of Child Abuse and Neglect, an estimated 1.3 million children are abused and neglected each year, of whom as many as five thousand die. In many cases it is their own parents who inflict the harm.

The Child Abuse and Neglect Prevention and Treatment Program, administered by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, addresses these difficult family problems through grants to the States as well as a variety of research and demonstration projects across the country. The Administration has proposed that this important legislation be re-authorized for three more years.

An example of a project we are funding through our discretionary program is "Success for Families - Promoting Self Sufficiency." The purpose of the project, being run by the Home Institute of Washington, D. C., is to prevent child abuse and neglect and promote healthy family functioning. It is designed to assist families to:

- improve parenting skills and enhance self-concept as parents; and
- increase abilities to independently use community resources to maintain positive family development.

The end product from the grant will be a home learning curriculum for families-at-risk to strengthen parenting and daily life management skills.

Runaway and Homeless Youth Program

The purpose of the Runaway and Homeless Youth Program (P.L. 96-509) is to provide support to State and local governments, nonprofit agencies, and coordinated networks of these agencies to develop or strengthen community-based centers dealing with the immediate problems of runaway and homeless youth, and their families.

Two of the primary goals of this program relate directly to strengthening families. One focuses on the ability of centers to reunite children with their families and to encourage the resolution of family problems through counseling and other services. This past year close to 80 percent of runaway youth served by the centers were reunited with their families or relatives or placed in other stable settings. A second goal is focused on the effectiveness of the centers in strengthening family relationships and encouraging stable living conditions for children. Fifty percent of the runaway youth served by the centers reported that the center programs helped strengthen and stabilize family relationships and lessened the likelihood of future runaway episodes. In addition, the National Toll-Free Communications System ("hotline") helps runaway youth and their families re-open communications.

Child Care

As more and more mothers enter the nation's work force, the availability and quality of day care for their children has become an issue of national importance. About 58 percent of mothers with children under age 6 are now in the labor force -- the fastest growing group of working mothers. A recent study conducted by General Mills found that nearly 2 in 5 American families supplement primary parental care with alternative child care arrangements.

As a result of this information, we are assisting the White House Office of Private Sector Initiatives with technical and program assistance to promote employer supported child care at the community level, to provide visibility for private sector child care initiatives already underway, and to increase the accessibility of child care resources to employers. In addition, we are looking at day care as in income generating strategy for low income families.

An example of one of the projects we funded focuses on training selected low-income participants on how to provide quality child care. This project in California will 1) generate a model for assisting female heads of households who are in the greatest economic and social need to achieve self-sufficiency as child care providers; 2) establish new linkages between existing agencies that serve the poor in inner cities and rural areas; and 3) increase the availability of child care to low-income women entering the labor market.

Developmental Disabilities

Family support is a strong element of services to the developmentally disabled. Almost 80% of the developmentally disabled are living with family members or relatives. This places demands on these families that the community can address. One of the issues we are working on is the lack of support for developmentally disabled adults. Developmentally disabled children are provided educational services by state or local educational systems. However, once they reach age 21 there are often not enough services available in the communities to support them, which sometimes results in families being forced to admit their young adults to institutions.

To combat this alarming phenomenon we are pursuing:

- Employment strategies with major employers. Many developmentally disabled individuals are employable.
- Model trust arrangements which provide parents security in knowing what will happen to their developmentally disabled offspring when they die.
- Demonstration projects designed to develop coping skills and other means of support for family members.

For example, one of the projects we funded through our discretionary program is designed to help siblings of handicapped children to accept, understand and adjust to a handicapped family member and reduce family stress and dependency on social services. The project being run by the University of Washington in Seattle, has identified 26 concerns that siblings of handicapped children commonly express about internal or external family relations.

A handbook for siblings has been developed and will be widely disseminated to communities and service providers working with families who have a handicapped child.

Older Americans

We are also concerned about how older Americans relate to families. One of the things we are doing is using them as a resource to younger families at risk. One example of these "intergenerational" activities is our interagency agreement with the Appalachian Regional Commission that links older volunteers with high risk pregnant women (especially teenagers) and their infants in an effort to reduce infant mortality.

As another example, the older Americans volunteer programs of Retired Senior Volunteers and Foster Grandparents are working with Head Start programs to place their volunteers in Head Start centers where they can work directly with the children.

We are also concerned about supporting families who have older members with health problems, such as Alzheimers Disease. As in our program for the developmentally disabled, we are aggressively pursuing efforts to help older family members stay at home or in their communities rather than in large institutions. The Department of Health and Human Services has a demonstraton project to determine what mix of services helps keep individuals in their community.

Another example is a study we funded to look at family support systems for frail elderly. The study is assessing the impact of public policies on family support, recommending changes, and organizing local community efforts to reinforce family support.

In addition, the Justice Department has recently announced the formation of a Task Force on Domestic Violence. We look forward to working with this Task Force, since those being abused are the frail elderly, as well as spouses, children and infants.

Finally, since many older Americans would like part time employment in order to help them feel productive and remain self-sufficient, we are working with small business employers to make then aware of this potential labor force.

Native Americans

In our program for Native Americans, our basic purpose is to encourage the self-sufficiency of tribes and their members. Grants made under the Native American Programs Act are focused on social and economic development. For example, in FY 1983 these grants resulted in:

- The creation of 8,700 new jobs for Native Americans.
- Generation of $100 million in revenue through reservation energy resource development efforts.

Family Policy Review

So far I have highlighted some of the activities of HDS programs which reinforce family strengths. As indicated by some of the examples, I have mentioned, we are also looking at ways that we can work together across the Federal government to strengthen families. For example, we are presently represented on the White House Task Force on Missing Children.

By some estimates, a million children are reported missing from their homes each year. More than 90% turn up unharmed within a few days, but some others are victims of violence.

This Administration is very concerned about the growing national problem of abducted, molested and murdered children. Presently, the White House Task Force is investigating possible approaches that the government could take in helping to solve this growing problem.

Possible approaches include investigating the use of computers to help track and identify missing children through a network that would enable police anywhere in the country to tap into a central storehouse of clues, evidence and other information about attacks on and abductions of children.

Of course, there are other significant programs in HHS that affect the stability of the family, particularly Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Child Support Enforcement, Family Planning, the Adolescent Family Life Program, Medicare and Medicaid. I'd like to discuss these programs and their effect on the family briefly.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Child Support Enforcement

The Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program meets the needs of children who are deprived of support due to the death, incapacity or continued absence of a parent, and in some States the unemployment of a parent. AFDC is a program of last resort and addresses the current needs of children in primarily female-headed households who are already the "victims" of family dissolution.

While we recognize the concern about the effects of welfare policies on families, there is little or no research or empirical evidence as to whether the current welfare system encourages marital dissolution by prohibiting assistance when both parents remain in the home. However, there is one study which measured the effects of a negative income tax scheme in Seattle and Denver and was conducted in the mid-1970's. Because low income families have the highest marital dissolution rates, it was thought family breakups might be lowered by guaranteeing families a certain level of income. In fact, the families participating in the negative income tax program had significantly higher rates of dissolution than families who did not.

On the other hand, we believe some of the existing features of the AFDC program and several of the Administration's current legislative proposals strengthen the formation of family units.

For example, there are two ways in which we believe we can ensure that neither parent in AFDC families views the program as a means by which they can relinquish their responsibilities to support their children.

First, with regard to the parent(s) in the household and receiving welfare we provide work experience and opportunities aimed at moving the family quickly into self-support. Our proposal to require States to involve all employable AFDC recipients in some type of work activity ensures that welfare is regarded as temporary and not an alternative support system. Under the current optional provision, twenty-one States are operating Community Work Experience Programs (CWEP) and Job Search programs. These programs have been successful in reducing welfare rolls by deterring those who view welfare as an alternative to work and by helping those who must temporarily rely on public assistance to develop job skills and find employment. In addition, a working parent provides a good role model for dependent children, showing that it is the family unit, not the Government, with whom the primary responsibility for support resides. With regard to an unemployed parent, the AFDC programs give States the option of having an AFDC - Unemployment program so that the family with the unemployed father can qualify for AFDC. About half the States have exercised this option.

Second, with regard to an absent father, we want to make it very clear that absence from the home should not lessen his support obligation. It is currently a national disgrace that only one out of four families with absent fathers receives regular child support payments. The Administration is proposing to strengthen child support enforcement measures to ensure that absent parents cannot desert their families and let the Government assume the burden of support.

Our proposals would increase child support collection efforts for both welfare and non-welfare families and would require States to use enforcement techniques such as taking deductions from wages of delinquent payers and offsetting delinquencies owed to an AFDC family from the absent parent's state tax refund. We cannot allow a system to continue in which parents of all income levels expect the Federal Government to subsidize their decision to abandon their families.

Another area of great concern is the number of unmarried teenage mothers who receive AFDC. The Administration has therefore proposed to prohibit assistance to minor mothers (except in limited circumstances) unless they live with their parents. This proposal recognizes the need for parents to have the opportunity to continue to exert influence over their minor children. It also dispels the notion that minors can view welfare as a means of obtaining financial independence from their parents.

Family Planning

Grants for the delivery of family planning services, and related research, are authorized under Title X of the Public Health Service Act. The basic mission of the family planning program is to facilitate the provision of voluntary family planning services to individuals who want such services but cannot otherwise obtain them. Family planning services are intended to help couples determine the number and spacing of their children.

One current emphasis in the family planning program is to increase the involvement of families in the delivery of family planning services. I know the Committee is well aware of the Administration's regulatory effort to implement the parental involvement amendment of the Title X statute. The regulations provide an opportunity for family involvement in an area in which health considerations make parental involvement particularly appropriate--the provision of prescription drugs or prescription devices. Although the regulations were due to become effective on February 25, 1983, the Department has been restrained from implementing them by court order.

The Department has launched other significant family planning activities involving the family that I would also like to bring to your attention. In all ten of the Department's regions, Title X training programs will provide special training to family planning workers to increase their knowledge about family systems and their ability to involve appropriate family members in the provision of services. Information and education materials on family involvement and family communication are being developed for professionals in family planning programs and for parents to use with their adolescents. Family involvement models will be identified and disseminated to all family planning programs to incorporate into their project activity.

Adolescent Family Life

Despite efforts in the public and the private sector to reduce the incident of adolescent pregnancy, the problem continues to be alarming. Pregnancy has risen among adolescents and the unfortunate cycle of repeat pregnancies, lack of education, and poverty has continued. The contribution this phenomena makes to "Broken Families" has been of particular concern to this Subcommittee. As a result of the leadership of this Subcommittee and its chairman, the Adolescent Family Life Bill was enacted in 1981. It provides an opportunity to develop new and effective family-centered approaches to the problem of adolescent pregnancy. Established as Title XX of the Public Health Service Act, the Adolescent Family Life Program authorizes grants for demonstration projects to develop models for States and communities in adolescent pregnancy prevention and care. It also authorizes the funding of research into the causes and consequences of adolescent premarital sexual relations, contraceptive use, pregnancy, and child rearing.

The Adolescent Family Life has as its hallmark a belief in the role of the family in instilling responsible attitudes and in inspiring responsible social behavior on the part of teenagers.

1983 is the first year of the Adolescent Family Life Program. The initial data from the 50 demonstration projects and the 12 research grants will become available next summer.

In the meantime, we have been pleased with the progress of this program and we have every reason to feel that this comprehensive, integrated approach to the problem of adolescent pregnancy will have a significant impact.

Medicare/Medicaid

Other major Department programs with potentially significant impact on the family are the major Federal health programs - Medicare and Medicaid. Under the Medicare and Medicaid Programs, elderly and disabled individuals can continue to remain in their homes and receive necessary medical services. Medicare will provide part-time or intermittent nursing and home health aide services and speech and occupational therapy to homebound patients who require skilled care. State Medicaid programs must provide home health services to individuals entitled to skilled nursing facility services. At a minimum, States must provide part-time or intermittent nursing services, home health aide services and medical supplies and equipment for use in the home. At the State's option, home health services may also include physical and occupational therapy, speech pathology and audiology services. States may also cover additional services in the home not included in the definition of home health services, such as personal care and private duty nursing.

In addition to the regular home health services covered under Medicaid, States may apply for waivers of certain program requirements so that they can implement cost-effective programs of home and community-based care. These programs are designed to provide a comprehensive array of medical and social services, such as adult day care, respite care and homemaker services, in order to keep patients out of institutions. This waiver authority was enacted as part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (Public Law 97-35) and has been received enthusiastically by States as a means to tailor home care programs to meet the unique needs and provide capabilities existing in their communities. As of September 1, 36 States are operating 48 programs of home and community-based services with an additional 39 waiver requests under review.

Finally, beginning November 1, Medicare will cover hospice care provided to terminally ill patients and their families primarily in their homes. Hospice services include a broad array of medical and social services aimed at the palliation of pain and other symptoms that will allow the patient to remain at home with his family.

I would also like to give you an update on the special Medicaid waiver to provide home care for individuals who would otherwise be eligible for Medicaid only when institutionalized. This situation first came to public attention in the case of Katie Beckett who could not qualify for Medicaid while living at home because her parents' income would be higher than the eligibility level; yet they could not afford to care for her at home without assistance. Consequently, Katie had to be placed in an institution in order to have her care paid for by Medicaid until a special waiver allowed care to be provided in her home. As of September 29, 43 individuals in situations similar to Katie Beckett's have been approved by a Departmental board to receive Medicaid payments for home care. In addition, 15 States cover this type of individual under 18 programs of home and community-based services.

While recognizing the benefits of and need for home health services, we are concerned at the growth in the cost of these services. Medicare home health expenditures have grown at an average annual rate of 37 percent during the decade ending in 1982. We estimate that Medicare home health expenditures in 1983 will be almost $1.5 billion. The Medicaid cost experience is similar. For the five years ending in 1982, Medicaid home health expenditures have increased at an average annual rate of 23 percent, compared to the annual growth of Medicaid hospital costs of 11 percent. The 1982 Medicaid home health expenditures of $496 million reflect a 16 percent growth from the previous year despite a 1.5 percent decline in recipients. We estimate that 1983 Medicaid home health expenditures will increase to $539 million. These figures do not include the Medicare Hospice program which we estimate will cost a total of $350 million during the first three years of operation.

These cost figures mandate our close surveillance of home care programs and thorough evaluation of their impact before any additional expansions are implemented.

We plan to continue to assess existing policies and regulations through a family lens. What policies discourage the maintenance of the family unit? What policies do not support prevention of family break-up? We encourage States to do this at their level as well.

Public/Private Partnerships

Another basic part of our strategy is to continue to promote public/private/community partnerships in order to build family strengths. In the past, government has crowded out much of the voluntary partnerships. Twenty years ago the Federal Government's share of spending for social services was only 6%

of the national total. The State and local government share was about 34%, and the private share -- the majority -- was 60%. Today, the Federal share has increased to 38%, the State and local share remains nearly the same at 32%, and the private share has declined -- in half -- to about 30%.

Voluntarism has a great historical importance in our country...and the Reagan Administration is seeking an even greater role for the American volunteer spirit. We are looking for a new partnership with the private and volunteer sectors. We are looking for innovative and affordable ideas that can be of benefit to every American.

We want to create conditions in which government, the private sector, and voluntary organizations can work together to achieve goals that government could never achieve on its own, no matter how much money we pour in.

We have made a beginning. One example is the cooperation that is being achieved in the area of corporate options for working families -- particularly concerning child care. In cooperation with the White House Office of Private Sector Initiatives we are encouraging further activities in employer sponsored child care and family support.

Finally, we believe strongly that public awareness can help build family strengths and values. Working together with public, private, and voluntary organizations we believe we can promote a positive national attitude which is based upon family strengths rather than family deficits.

Dr. Urie Broffenbrenner, Professor of Human Development and Family Studies at Cornell University, has said we must tell our story to a larger society; that we must reach, inform and affirm to business, industry, government, mass media, and public relations the value of the family. I totally agree.

A part of our strategy is to encourage the broader dissemination of information to parents and families. Families need to be made aware of information and resources available, and how to access those resources. We are particularly concerned that vulnerable families and families at risk have access to not only materials (of which there is an abundance) but also to models.

Families have so much to share and to give. Every family has strengths they can build on as well as strengths they can share with others. We need to communicate these strengths within each of our communities in such a way as to foster our common need for strong, caring, and sharing families.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my prepared remarks. We appreciate this opportunity to share information about some of our efforts with you. I will be happy to respond to any questions.

Question 1: You mention the Administration's Task Force on Domestic Violence. Is there any Administration task force to develop a cohesive family policy that cuts across agency and committee lines?

Answer: There is no task force specially named the "Task Force on Families" or created specifically to address family policies. However, there are a number of interdepartmental task forces or work groups that focus on a variety of family problems, for example, the White House Task Force on Missing Children, the White House Private Sector Initative on employer sponsored child care and family support, and the White House Task Force on Domestic Violence. In addition, the Cabinet Council on Human Resources, chaired by Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler, provides an ongoing forum for discussing issues affecting the family that cut across agency lines. These task forces and work groups, together with our new "Families Initiative", form the basis for the development of Federal policies aimed at strengthening families.

Question 2:

Question: Is there any data available to tell us how long after marital dissolution a broken family is likely to remain on public assistance?

Answer: A recent study prepared for the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation by M.J. Bane and D.T. Ellwood (*The Dynamics of Dependence: The Routes to Self Sufficiency*, 1983) has information on that question. The study found that a family which becomes a recipient of the AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) program after dissolution of a marriage is expected to remain on the rolls for an average of 4.5 years. By contrast, the average number of years on the rolls for families where the parent was never married is 7.7 years; for families who have lost earnings, 3.8 years; and for all others 3.9 years. The average number of years all AFDC recipients remain on the rolls is 5.2.

Question 3:

Q: Recently there has been some discussion about the way in which the federal government might be able to recognize the economic contribution of American homemakers, for instance, by including in the calculation of GNP the average economic worth of work done in the home or, perhaps more importantly increasing the amount allowed for annual IRA deposits when one member of the family is a homemaker. Has the Administration considered the merit of these or similar proposals?

A: The Administration has examined proposals that would recognize the economic contributions of homemakers through changes in spousal IRA's. Recently the President expressed support for legislative proposals that would increase the allowable spousal IRA contribution to $4,000 for one wage earner couples.

The Administration has not considered proposals which would include the average economic worth of homemaking in the calculation of the Gross National Product (GNP).

The GNP is a measure of the total national output of goods and services valued at market prices. The goods and services included in the GNP are largely those purchased for final use in the market economy. While homemakers made valuable contributions to our national economy, inclusion of homemaking, and other non-market "economic" activities, such as volunteerism, government sources and recreation, in the calculation of the GNP would be an extremely difficult task. Expanding the GNP to include homemaking and other non-market activities would distort the measure economic activities.

The Bureau of Economic Analysis (Department of Commerce) has conducted statistical research in this area. Staff papers concluded that inclusion of non-market activities in the GNP was not feasible. The Bureau is no longer involved with research on this topic.

The Department defers to the Department of Commerce which is better able to evaluate this proposal.

Question 4: You mentioned the Runaway and Homeless Youth Program. Do you have any estimate of what percentage of the runaways in the U.S. come from single parent homes?

Answer: While we cannot estimate the percentage of runaways in the U.S. that come from single parent homes, we can supply some information on the family setting of youth served by the centers that are grantees of the national Runaway and Homeless Youth Program.

In 1983, our data indicates that approximately 19% of the youth reported no father figure; 15% reported a stepfather and 34% reported a natural father (32% did not report).

Of those reporting a mother figure in the household, 71.2% reported either a natural mother or a stepmother. Only 2.7% reported no mother figure (26% did not report).

To summarize, 49.7% report a father figure (father or stepfather) and 71.2% report a mother figure (natural mother or stepmother).

Question 5: We hear much talk of the need for more money for this program or another. Yet it strikes me that at the core of the family issues we have a value crisis--a crisis in American's attitudes toward commitment in marriage. Can money or government change that?

Answer: We do not believe that the Federal government can mandate a change in values. We do believe that the role of the Federal government is to recognize the importance of the family as an essential unit of society for developing the next generation and not just as an economic unit, to foster a re-kindling of commitment and parental responsibility by identifying and changing Federal program policies that do not support the family, and to promote family self-sufficiency and independence through a stronger economy. The Federal government, through its leadership and in cooperation with private initiatives, volunteerism and local problem solving, can play an instrumental role in strengthening the social fabric of family life in America.

Question 6: The Washington Post reported on October 2, 1983 in what some might consider less than objective fashion on your grant-making process. Does the manner in which you have distributed grants reflect at all on your new "family initiative"? Do you have any comments on the Post story?

Answer: The concept that individuals and families are primarily responsible for their own well-being has been a hallmark of my stewardship at the Office of Human Development Services. Consequently, many projects in a variety of program areas deal with the ability of families to meet the particular challenges they face. However, it is only for the current fiscal year that we have established "Strategies for Strengthening Families" as a major priority. In past years, a focus on families may have strengthened a particular proposal, but that has not been a major consideration in funding decisions.

In regard to the Post story, I do think it unfortunate that the article concentrated on just one part of the selection process -- the ranking score from review panels. We have consistently made our funding decisions in strict accord with criteria published in our program announcements in the Federal Register. For Fiscal Year 1983, the announcement made it clear -- as specified in Departmental regulations -- that funding decisions also take into account such factors as geographic distribution, ethnic representation, and a balance between urban and rural areas. I should note, however, that field review scores remain the primary selection factor: of all projects funded, three quarters ranked within the top 25 percent of all projects scored by reviewers.

Question 7: It appears that many of the federal government's laws and programs that affect families are not under the jurisdiction of HHS -- be it tax law, regulation of pornography, regulation of the media, or juvenile justice. Does HHS coordinate at all with the different departments on these issues?

Answer: The Department of Health and Human Services coordinates informally with other departments on family issues through Interagency panels on children, youth and families as well as networking. There are formal interagency arrangements such as the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and, as noted in Question 1, the Cabinet Council on Human Resources and the Cabinet itself provide a means of cross-government coordination.

Question 8: I have enclosed a copy of an article from Public Opinion (January, 1983), entitled "Hollywood and America: The Odd Couple," by Linda Lichter, S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman. The article describes a survey of 104 of Hollywood's "media elite," a survey of backgrounds, political views, and religious and moral beliefs. You will note that those interviewed describe themselves as being considerably more left of center than the average American. I would be interested in your comments on any of the findings of the survey as they relate to the role of the media in influencing public attitudes toward the family.

Answer: The media is certainly a significant vehicle in shaping family values both good and, unfortunately, bad. The article you provided points out the manner in which values get infused into the media.

We share your concern about this problem. However, as I mentioned at the hearing, the Department of Health and Human Services has no authority to remove programs or ads we consider negative. Our focus, in our "Families Initiative," is to present instead positive images and approaches.

Senator **Denton**. Our first panel is at the witness table, and I would like to welcome Ms. Diane Ahrens, who is an elected official, and she is on the National Association of Counties' Subcommittee on Children, Youth and Families. She is the chairman of it.

Then we have Mrs. Geneva Johnson, who is president of the Family Service Association of America; and Dr. James Mays, founder of the Adopt-A-Family Endowment. I would like to welcome all three of you to this hearing.

Ms. Ahrens, would you care to begin?

STATEMENT OF DIANE AHRENS, COUNTY COMMISSIONER, RAMSEY COUNTY, MINN.; CHAIRWOMAN, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES' COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH AND FAMILIES

Ms. **Ahrens**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, for the record, I am Diane Ahrens of the board of commissioners of Ramsey County, St. Paul, Minn.

In calling this hearing on the broken family, Senator Denton, you strike a nerve that is close to all of us in public office. This tragic and growing problem confronts us daily at the local level in the process of serving the citizens we represent. It seriously challenges us as elected officials to consider the proper role of government at all levels in family matters.

Certainly, county officials share your concern. NACo's Human Services Steering Committee chose as its primary focus for 1983-84 to concentrate on family and child issues. County governments provide their citizens with a range of services and programs that support families and ameliorate the effects of broken families. These include family and juvenile courts, health care, such as well-baby clinics; mental health counseling; social services and welfare programs; child protective services; job training and a wide range of recreational and educational facilities. Many of these services and programs are provided with a combination of county, State, and Federal resources.

This partnership of funding and rule setting illustrates that there is a role for each level of government in providing services that prevent, relieve, or treat stresses that lead to family breakup, especially from the funding standpoint, this intergovernmental partnership is essential.

As an elected county official, I am faced with making difficult choices when funding for programs which must be cut back. During the past 2 years of high unemployment, both State and county revenues have declined sharply. At the same time, Federal funding for many programs has been cut. I have been forced to choose between limiting the number of pregnant women who can receive nutritious foods, knowing that lack of proper nutrition may lead to low birth weight, or babies born with health problems; and the number of persons who can participate in our job training program—people who are desperately seeking the opportunity for employment.

The lost revenues to maintain the vital programs I mentioned and the obligation keenly felt by county officials to nurture families, prompted the National Association of Counties to oppose further cuts in the Federal domestic programs that we operate. For 2 years we have called for a moratorium on such cuts; and we support restoration of some of the funds.

We are here today to investigate possible solutions to a national problem that has reached epidemic proportions—the breakdown of the traditional family unit.

Two recent discoveries vividly brought home to me the dimension of change in family composition. My children have attended an inner-city magnet school with children from very diverse racial and economic backgrounds. Fifty percent of the children from this school come from single parent homes. In the block where I live, there are 22 residences, these are primarily older, substantial homes. I had supposed that 20 percent of the families on my block were headed by women until I did a tally. Eleven of the 22 family housing units on my block are headed by single women—50 percent.

Although we know that broken families can be found in middle and upper class homes as well as among poorer neighborhoods, families living in poverty are in greater risk of devastating consequences from the lack of the support system traditionally furnished by the family.

Last month, NACo's Human Services Steering Committee sponsored a meeting in Washington to take a closer look at the national/State/county role in meeting the needs of children and their families. We needed to find out how recent changes in public policies are affecting families and children.

Speakers representing all levels of government reiterated the bad news: 22 percent of our Nation's children are living in poverty. Many are not receiving adequate food, shelter, health care, educational opportunities or protection from abuse.

The face of poverty, Senator, once wrinkled, has become that of a child.

Economic security for America's families emerged from these meetings as the urgent and all-encompassing issue. It must be addressed if any meaningful strides are to be made in addressing its symptoms. What are these symptoms—10 million families are without employment or health insurance; 9 million children live in unsafe housing; 9 million children receive no regular health care; 18 million children have never seen a dentist; 2 million teenagers over 15 are school dropouts; more than 500,000 children have been removed from the custody of their parents; and almost 1 million cases of suspected child abuse and neglect are reported annually.

Further, single parent families are overwhelmingly headed by women. Unless we deal with the issue of economic equity—the fact that women who work full time earn 63 percent of their male counterparts, unless we deal with this issue, we will never get to the role causes of poverty, and most of other efforts will be eroded.

The possible solutions to economic security are not themselves the subject of this hearing. But the stresses caused by unemployment and prolonged poverty are clearly related to many of these symptoms. Poor families seem especially vulnerable to family breakup, so provision of jobs, job training, and an adequate income maintenance system for those without jobs would seem to be in the public interest.

Some of the specific concerns of our organization regarding legislative issues before this Congress include: This important block grant forms the cornerstone of all the social services we provide at the local level; it has been called the glue that holds the social infrastructure together. And we commend the action the Senate took last week in attaching $200 million for fiscal year 1984 to the unemployment compensation bill. These funds will surely help to relieve stresses on the families addressed here today.

We find that counties typically target their title XX funds for programs to strengthen the self-sufficiency of families and to detect and prevent child abuse and spouse abuse. Another key service that helps preserve family life is provision of homemakers and home health aides, both to enhance parenting skills, and to enable a disabled member to remain part of the family life.

The funding reductions of 1981 that accompanied block grants, usually compounded by State and local budget problems, have placed severe strains on these and other social services. Because of recession and related factors, the need for the services has been growing. Some examples of the county-level impact follow. I use the title XX services to illustrate, because they are indicative of what has happened in many other programs.

In Alabama, the 67 county offices which administer title XX experienced a dramatic increase in the number of reported cases of child abuse over the past few years, a fact we are hearing from many sources. In 1976, only 3,300 cases of abuse were reported in Alabama. By 1982, over 20,000 cases were reported, and the counties' resources for responding are greatly strained by the increased demand and reduced funds. In fact, nearly 60,000 fewer people received social services in Alabama in 1982 than did in 1980.

In New York, the State child care coordinating council estimates that 12,000 less children will receive day care in fiscal year 1983 than in fiscal year 1981.

And in my own county, Senator, because of the title XX reductions, and a State-imposed levy limitation under which a lot of counties have to operate, we had to reduce our social services by 36 percent.

In the AFDC program, NACo supports work instead of welfare for all able-bodied persons. The AFDC program has become the unfortunate symbol of broken families trapped in a workless—and too often—hopeless world. The nationwide pattern of working mothers—as many as 70 percent of those mothers with children age 6 and above—should be proof that most welfare mothers will work if given the proper support systems and incentives while their children are young.

I am very concerned about the distinct disincentives to work which were built into the AFDC program in 1981' and I wish the Under Secretary of HHS were here to hear this.

Legislative proposals pending in the House Ways and Means Committee would correct these and make it realistic again for AFDC parents to seek work. These disincentives are: The 100-hour work rule for two parent AFDC families, making the family ineligible if work effort exceeds 100 hours a month, regardless of their income.

Limiting the 30 and one-third earnings disregard to 4 months, which discourages recipients from seeking work in the first place.

Unrealistic caps for day care and work-related expenses.

Linking medical assistance to AFDC.

Until these amendments of 2 years ago, AFDC provided an incentive for people to work.

In Ramsey County, we are finding that AFDC parents hesitate to take the risks of employment because the potential losses for their children are too great.

To address the needs of broken families, Senator, NACo supports the Child Abuse Prevention Act reauthorization as proposed in the Senate, we support child support enforcement for welfare and nonwelfare families through mandatory withholding of wages, with a 70 percent Federal match. We support the women, infants, and children feeding program. We recommend that the child care bill introduced by Senators Dole and Riegle, which would provide for use of school buildings as child care facilities, and we suggest to better target day care credit, make it a refundable tax credit, because many families do not earn enough to take use of the credit.

We also strongly recommend that Congress approve the extra funding for Head Start contained in the 1984 appropriations measure before the Congress this week.

Our experience bears out the administration's estimate that fewer than 20 percent of children eligible for Head Start are being served. Two counties, northwest of Birmingham—I am sorry, west of Birmingham, Ala.; Walker and Winston Counties, form one of NACo's onsite technical assistance projects. And elected officials participating in that project confirmed that existing resources permit serving of only 20 percent of the children in their projects.

In closing, I want to commend your subcommittee, Mr. Chairman, for addressing the causes and problems of the broken family, and to encourage you to aggressively pursue solutions that will be identified in your deliberations. This is an issue of tragic proportions, and it affects all of us.

Thank you very much.

Senator DENTON. Thank you, Ms. Ahrens.

Do you prefer to be questioned now, or——

Ms. AHRENS. Yes, Senator, I would.

Senator DENTON. I will question you now because we are pleased that an elected official agreed to take the time to appear before this subcommittee. Thank you, Mrs. Ahrens.

Certainly it is tragic and misguided that AFDC parents hesitate to take the risks of employment, in your words, because the potential losses for their family are too great.

Would you go into that a little more? What sort of employment are they being offered that constitutes a risk?

Ms. AHRENS. Yes, Mr. Chairman, be happy to.

First of all, let me deal with the 30 and a third issue. Many of the women, the heads of households, and most of them are women, can secure only jobs with minimum incomes. That would mean, in our State, that they would really receive less money working than they would in AFDC. But combined with that, and I think really more important, is that they cannot keep, after the first 4 months, any of the income that they earn, any of the income.

Aside from that, there is a cap of $160 per month for day care, and $75 for working expense. Well, I can tell you that in Minnesota you cannot get day care for a child, fulltime day care for $160 a month, and if you have two children, where you have to provide day care, then there is no way that you can get it.

The work expense allowance is $75 a month, that is totally inadequate. So what it means is that for a head of a household that goes to work at a minimum wage, it will cost that mother or father, like mothers mostly, to go to work, and there is no way that they come out better. They also lose their health benefits, generally, and many of the low paying jobs do not provide health insurance.

Well, I can tell you, if I were a mother of several children, and I was going to lose the opportunity of providing my children with health care benefits, and come out with less money than I did, why would I go to work.

Senator DENTON. Well, it is something I tried to deal with. I was cochairman of the Alabama Commission on Children and the Family, some years ago. I learned about that sort of thing then. It is not easy to solve.

For example, you advocate a national income maintenance system that guarantees work, and does not penalize two parent needy families, and you mention that might be a solution, or indicate it would be a solution to economic insecurity.

Ms. Hardy mentioned something that I was not familiar with, but you probably are.

Are you aware of the findings of the Seattle and Denver income maintenance experiment, known as SIME/DIME, conducted over a 2-year period in order to test the effects of guaranteed income on lower income families, regardless of the presence of a male in the household?

During the first 6 months of the experiment, marriage breakup for whites increased 430 percent. Over the 2-year period, marriage breakup increased 244 percent for whites, 169 percent for blacks, and 194 percent for Hispanics.

That data did not suggest that income maintenance system contributes to the stability of the family. I do not know what is wrong with the data.

Are you familiar with it?

Ms. AHRENS. No, I am not familiar with it, Mr. Chairman, and I do not know what is wrong with the data.

Senator DENTON. You mention in your testimony that counties typically target title XX social services block grant money for programs that help to detect and treat child abuse.

How do county programs for the prevention of child abuse foster family stability, and are they actually helping to keep families together by ameliorating the problems, or are they intervening by removing children from the home, and in many cases wrongly?

Ms. AHRENS. Yes, Mr. Chairman. In fact, that is a very pertinent question, because my board just set our budget in the last week, and we provided for 10 additional caseworkers in our job protection unit, so that we could reduce caseloads from about 25 to 1—to 10 to 1, and that will enable our caseworkers to do far more treatment to maintain children in their homes, keep families together, treat the children and the parents, where there is suspected child abuse.

So, counties, I think, play a primary role in that, and our emphasis is in keeping the families together, giving them support, so that they can become nonabusive, strong family units, and that is where our emphasis is.

Senator **DENTON**. Your outreach programs to teen parents, and to pregnant teens, such as the Head Start coordinated services program that you mentioned, how do they involve whole families in teaching parenting and child health needs?

Ms. **AHRENS**. Mr. Chairman, it just so happens, once again in our county, and our city of St. Paul, we have a maternal and infant care clinic that operates in four of the high schools. This is operated out of our public hospital, St. Paul-Ramsey. There are doctors, nurses and clinicians that work in the high schools, space provided in the high schools, to provide health services, a whole range of health services, to both the boys and girls in that high school, but their emphasis is on prevention of pregnancy, it is on parenting if that pregnancy occurs, and since these clinics have been established over the last 5 years, the fertility rate in those high schools have dropped about 80 percent. It has been a very significant program.

If pregnancy does occur, both the father and the mother of that child are brought in and taught parenting skills, whether or not they are married, the girl is encouraged to stay in high school, and given the support services, so that she can, and we operate a day care clinic for those babies in the high schools.

Senator **DENTON**. I want to thank you, Ms. Ahrens. I can see why you were elected. You are certainly compassionate and concerned, and well informed, and I would like to thank you once again for being with us.

Ms. **AHRENS**. Thank you.

[The questions asked by Senator Denton along with responses follow:]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION *of* COUNTIES

440 First St. NW, Washington, DC 20001
202/393-6226

November 2, 1983

The Honorable Jeremiah Denton
United States Senator and Chairman,
Subcommittee on Family and Human Services
A624 Immigration Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Denton:

Enclosed are responses to the follow-up questions you asked of witnesses in your Subcommittee's hearings on the topic of "Broken Families: Role of Government." We are pleased that the Subcommittee is taking such an active interest in this area.

We have also forwarded the questions to Commissioner Diane Ahrens and her response will be sent under separate cover.

As our response indicates, we believe that government can strengthen families in a fundamental way by assuring jobs, training, child care, and other supports needed to help parents provide economic security for their children. We have provided a number of examples of county programs that can help youngsters enter adulthood better prepared for successful family life. These responses incorporate questions one through three. Since NACo does not have policies on the effect of the media on families, we did not respond to question four.

Thank you for this further opportunity to share the views of county officials. If you have any questions regarding the county programs discussed in the statements or would like additional information, please contact Susan Golonka or Tom Joseph of the NACo staff at 393-6226. We have also enclosed a NACo human resources staff contact list for your information.

Sincerely,

Pat Craig
Patricia Johnson Craig
Director, Human Resources Department

PJC:hmt

Enclosures

286

BROKEN FAMILIES: THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

ANSWER TO QUESTION 1:

"The single parent family, almost always headed by a woman, is a significant characteristic of our nation's poor families. What kinds of programs do you see working to either: a) Keep the father with his family, or (b) Raise the mother and children out of poverty? How much government support is needed for these programs? Can these programs be supported by private funds, contributions, and volunteers?

Perhaps the most important ways of raising mothers and their children out of poverty is providing mothers with support services enabling them to pursue training and employment. There are at least three ways to provide women with alternatives to welfare. They are, restoring AFDC work incentives, increasing day care availability, increasing the number of slots for children in Head Start.

NACo supports work instead of welfare for all able-bodied persons. The AFDC program has become the unfortunate symbol of broken families trapped in a workless--and too often--hopeless, world. The nationwide pattern of working mothers--as many as 70 percent of those mothers with children age six and above--should be proof that most welfare mothers will work if given the proper support systems and incentives while their children are young.

Until the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act amendments of two years ago, AFDC provided an incentive for people to work because it allowed the parent to keep the first $30 and on-third of the remaining earnings to a cut-off point. This has been replaced by a harsh rule that prohibits an AFDC recipient from disregarding any earnings after four months. The resulting ineligibility and loss of Medicaid benefits make recipients reluctant to plunge into uncertain jobs, child care and complicated travel arrangements. Coupled with the sharp reduction in funding for employment and training programs, the AFDC changes appear to have discouraged employable AFDC recipients from seeking employment.

The National Association of Counties proposes a national work security program for persons able to work and an income security program for persons not expected to work. The strategy to provide jobs instead of welfare checks for those who can work and a simpler, more humane benefit system for those who cannot, would help to keep fathers with their families.

National strategy in the 1980s must focus on providing jobs, training, education, and child care early enough in the lives of young persons to permit them to make choices which can break the welfare cycle. The strategy must include attempts to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies through improved sex education and birth control information.

NACo's proposal to develop a work security program is based on the belief that employment opportunities with adequate wages should be made available for all who wish and are able to work. Government support to supplement the income of employable individuals should be provided in the context of job markets and work programs, wherein the basis of financial need is recognized as lack of a job. Government should provide the necessary basic social services to support the work program.

Low-income mothers with preschool children have a very difficult time finding acceptable and affordable day care that will allow them to find or keep jobs. The Title XX Social Services Block Grant has been key in providing support services such as day care. However, while more and more mothers are finding it necessary to work, the Title XX cuts in the last two years forced two-thirds of the states to reduce the number of children receiving day care.

Although Secretary Heckler herself has stated, in testimony earlier this year, that the "availability of adequate day care is an essential element if welfare mothers or others with young children are to work," evidence from a number of states and counties indicates that cutbacks in funding have severely diminished child care support for mothers who are working or are in training programs preparing them to work. NACo has been encouraged by the recent action by the Senate and House to restore part of the Title XX funding.

Private corporations have opened dare care centers but apparently they have not found it profitable enough to open more centers to meet the demand. Some companies have provided day care at the workplace for their employees' children. The federal government could encourage this policy by providing tax breaks to companies which implement this policy.

An important federally funded program which both assists children and teaches skills to parents is the Head Start Program. NACo fully supports the program and was enouraged by the increased appropriation for fiscal 1984. Head Start provides low-income children with nutritious meals, health screening, education and socialization skills. Studies have shown that Head Start children have grown up to become more productive and involved citizens. The programs's services to parents include enabling them to learn better parenting skills, food preparation, and how to become involved in policy-making processes through their Head Start policy councils. The lives of many low-income parents have been changed by this program.

ANSWER TO QUESTION 2:

What kinds of programs, from your experiences, have had the greatest, positive influence on developing the character and security of children and teenagers, so that they enter adulthood prepared for a more successful family life?

County administered programs ranging from day care to parenting classes have had a beneficial influence on the health and well-being of children and adolescents, and has smoothed their transition to adulthood and family responsibilities. For many families, and especially those experiencing financial difficulties, county-run programs may provide the only opportunity to receive assistance in the areas of child care, child health and mental health, child abuse prevention and treatment, and family life skills

High quality preschool education programs such as Head Start have yielded a long run benefit to the participating children and families. A longitudinal study by the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation of low income children who attended preschool programs in the 1960's found that these children had significantly lower rates of delinquency and better academic and employment records than their peers who had not attended preschool. Preliminary results of "The Head Start Synthesis, Evaluation and Utilization Project" indicate that children who participated in Head Start programs fared better in school than comparable children and improved in physical development and motor control. Head Start has also taken a leadership role in serving handicapped children. The findings also reveal that Head Start programs have had a positive impact on families and communities by encouraging parental involvement, providing jobs and services, and encouraging coordination of community social services.

While Head Start programs may be administered by one of several types of organizations--community action agencies, non-profit districts--counties usually work with the Head Start provider to coordinate such services as health, nutrition, transportation and day care. Currently, less than 25 percent of eligible children are served by Head Start and in many counties, Head Start programs do not even exist. The expansion of this program so that all eligible children could be served would yield lasting benefits to children and their families.

Most counties also provide free or reduced cost day-care to low-income families. Children in these programs participate in activities that foster social and developmental skills and often receive a nutritious meal. The Title XX Social Services Block Grant is the cornerstone of funding for day care at the local level. In 1979, (the most recent year for accurate data) counties targeted 21 percent of Title XX funding to child day care. However, recent budget cuts have forced counties to discontinue providing social

Responding to a recent trend of increased child abuse and the growing concern for at-risk children, counties have been developing innovative programs in reporting, treatment, and prevention to counter the epidemic of child abuse and neglect and restore health and security to the American family. Especially important are those programs that deal with adolescents and adults who were abused as children. Studies have found that these individuals are more apt to commit child abuse as parents than those who were not abused as children. Parenting classes provide peer support as well as expert advice. For example, in James City-County, Virginia, the Department of Social Services implemented the Adolescent Parent Education and Prevention Program (APEPP) aimed at preventing child abuse and neglect by educating parents to become capable and nurturing parents. While often parent education program exists, APEPP intervenes at a point where there is motivation to become good parents: shortly after the birth of the child.

The county coordinated staff resources, community volunteers and referral agencies to develop a cost-effective program.

Counties are also creating programs which educate and coordinate community agencies in the areas of detection, reporting, investigation and treatment. By making child abuse detection and treatment a community responsibility, at-risk children and their families can be identified and treated before the problem escalates.

In Albany County, New York, a community liaison educates and coordinates professionals who are mandated by law to report suspected cases of child abuse. The community liaison provides in-service training to community agencies representing teachers, parole officers and emergency medical personnel, police and social workers. The community liaison also develops formal linkages between child protection services and reporting, investigation and treatment resources.

In Monroe County, New York, a multi-disciplinary team was created to respond to individual child abuse cases. The team which consists of a school psychologist, pediatrician, attorney, mental health consultant, psychiatrist and child protective coordinator meets twice a month to review and discuss cases from the professional perspective of each participant to move toward a service plan which will protect the child and strengthen the family life.

Adolescence is often a difficult period, especially for those individuals who suffer from emotional problems. In the past, most programs to serve emotionally disturbed youth involved placement in institutions or residential settings. These programs which separate the youth from their families and communities are costly and often fail to recognize the complexity of interactions among the youth's family, peer group, and community which may be contributing to the youth's problems. In lieu of costly residential placements, many counties are developing day treatment programs which enable the youth to remain with his family while receiving professional treatment. The Union County, N.J. Day Treatment Program offers a variety of services to eligible youth including education, vocation and career orientation, recreation, counseling (e.g. individual, group and family therapy), referrals and follow-up. Youths are served by the program at a cost which is estimated to be 55 to 60 percent less than the cost of residential placement. Similar day treatment programs exist in Cuyahoga County, Ohio; San Francisco, California; and Providence, Rhode Island.

The high percentage of one-parent families and the growing trend for both parents in a two-parent family to work means that the after-school time of many youth is unstructured and unsupervised. The boredom and disillusionment suffered by today's youth is evidenced by the rising suicide rate among teenagers, an increase in sexual activity and the large number of teenagers who use alcohol and drugs. Youth from families at all income levels are experiencing these problems. Many communities are reaching out to their youth and establishing after school programs where teenagers can engage in a variety of health activities with their peers. In Great Neck, New York a youth facility has been established at the Great Neck Library which offers such activities as workshops, crafts classes, theatre productions. Approximately 200-250 youth use this facility on a routine basis.

Another after-school program for 10-21 year olds is run by the Rheedlen Foundation in New York City. Through a consortium of community-based agencies, the Center offers an after-school program four days a week that includes tutoring, referral services, structured recreation alternatives to the street, counseling and health screening. After-school programs enable youth to meet and interact with their peers in a positive manner, explore new areas of interests and develop new skills. Other county programs targeted toward assisting children and teenagers in developing security and overcoming disabilities or past problems:

- DeKalb County, Georgia -- Substance Abuse Protection Program
- Montgomery County, Maryland -- Regional Institute for Emotionally Impaired Youth Ages 6 Through 18
- Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, California -- Adolescent Residential Treatment Program
- Los Angeles County, California -- Interagency Council on Child Abuse and Neglect
- Sacramento County, California -- Foster Grandparent Program to Work with Mentally and Emotionally Ill Children
- San Bernardino County, California -- Residential Treatment Program for Emotionally Disturbed Youth
- Duval County, Florida -- "State of the Child" Report
- Broward County, Florida -- Specialized Services for Incest Victims
- Union County, New Jersey -- Day Treatment Program to Promote Holistic and Community-Based Alternatives
- Renssalaer County, New York -- Children of Divorce Program
- Ventura County, California -- Treatment Home Program

For further information on these programs, contact NACo staffer Grace Starbird or Susan Golonka.

Senator **Denton**. Mrs. Geneva Johnson, would you go ahead with your opening statement, please, ma'am?

STATEMENTS OF GENEVA B. JOHNSON, PRESIDENT AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, THE FAMILY SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA; AND DR. JAMES A. MAYS, FOUNDER, ADOPT-A-FAMILY ENDOWMENT, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., A PANEL

Mrs. **Johnson**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

For the record, I am Geneva Johnson, president and chief executive officer of the Family Service Association of America, New York City.

I am pleased to be here today to represent the Family Service Association of America at these important hearings. Our organization commends you, Senator, for your public commitment to families, and for your willingness to explore some of the more pressing problems of our society. We recommend more efforts of this nature. It is here on Capitol Hill where such forums should be commonplace.

The organization for which I am the chief executive officer has been committed to serving families of North America for 72 years. Our membership includes over 265 accredited member agencies located throughout North America. Each agency is a nonprofit, nonpartisan and community-oriented organization. Each is led by a volunteer board that sets policy and priorities for the individual agency. Our agencies last year served over 3 million individuals in families. Our total budget for the year was over $200 million: $80 million came from local United Ways, and the remainder from individual fees for service and purchase of service contracts with the local sector.

Family service agencies spend little time defining families, and no time sitting in judgment on the emerging and changing lifestyles in our society. That is not their mission. Their mission is to serve the families in their communities who are hurting, in the best way they know how.

These families include lonely adults, who are alienated from their families, single parents, mothers and fathers, teenagers, pregnant teenagers, older children, over 45 years of age, with older parents to concern themselves with, blended families.

The kind of services that our agencies provide range from professional counseling, to family therapy, Meals on Wheels, guardianship programs, self-help programs, programs for pregnant teenagers, and day care. Agency standards of service and commitment are very high. The dedication of our local chief executive officers and their volunteer boards are a source of constant inspiration.

Some of our agencies date back almost to the American Revolution, and I will be leaving shortly to celebrate the 100th anniversary of our agency in Louisville, Ky. One of the common bonds that unites them, however, is an uncompromising desire to help families who are in trouble.

Our provision of comprehensive services and our commitment to families has determined our concern with public policy at all levels of government. This concern with public policy has resulted in an ongoing effort to promote government entities that have a capacity to look at how well, or how poorly, government is serving families.

About 7 years ago our organization, along with the National Conference of Catholic Charities, proceeded to press for the establishment of an Office for Families in the Department of Health and Human Services. We were eventually successful in our effort. However, to this day, Congress has given this office no mission, and no money. The office was established by Presidential fiat. It is a powerless, small part of a very large bureaucracy in the Office of Human Development Services. Recently we have been told there are plans to merge the Office for Families with the Office for Youth, in order to get some funding for the office out of the youth program budget. This is obviously a distortion, once again. The emphasis should be to study the needs of families and to examine the extent to which government programs are having an impact on families—negative or positive.

Our Nation's policymakers have continued in these troubled times to enact budget cuts, to cut day care funding, to pass major tax programs, and to prioritize economic well-being above all else, without considering the impact of their efforts on the family. Where is a viable office in the White House or OMB to look at how administration policies relate to the needs of families?

For example, where in this administration is there a study of the impact of possible gas deregulation on families? Or where is the assessment of what will happen to families with the many changes in telecommunications and the breakup of AT&T? We believe that legislators who care about families need to be concerned not only about those pieces of legislation that already exist that may be harmful to families, but also those that are about to be developed.

We have another concern. That is the recent orientation to family issues on Capitol Hill which is grounded in polarization and debate. One good example of this is the division in the Senate of the two new caucuses: one for children and one for families. You cannot consider the problems of children apart from families. While there has been some effort to place representatives of both political parties on each caucus, the fact remains that there are two caucuses, and that this is fundamentally bad public policy, as well as costly to maintain.

Senator Denton. Let me ask you a question there, Mrs. Johnson.

Would you rather have one caucus, if it was formed in a way that you said it should not be, mainly to consider children apart of the family, or would you permit me to form another one, which considered the family including their children?

Mrs. Johnson. The family, which includes——

Senator Denton. OK. That is why there are two. Go ahead.

Mrs. Johnson. If I may clarify what I am saying. We are saying it is fragmented to consider children apart from family.

Senator Denton. Yes, I understand that.

Mrs. Johnson. You have a caucus on family that does not consider children and older adults, so we feel a caucus on families is more exclusive, and includes actually what a family is.

Senator Denton. Yes, that is what we thought.

Mrs. Johnson. We are totally opposed to such fragmentation. We have had far too much categorical, nonholistic thinking in the policy arena for far too many years. I urge you to do all that you can to bring about a merger of the two caucuses.

Mr. Chairman, I was extremely pleased to learn that in this hearing room on Thursday, September 22, 1983 you stated that the family issue does not belong solely to so-called liberals or so-called conservatives. We desperately need bridges to be built on this front, and we applaud you for moving in this direction.

We should note at this point that the new House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families has the word "families" in its title only because of the efforts of our national organization, and our colleagues who share our interest, and who jointly worked to persuade the House leadership. We offer you our support in any effort that you make to merge the two Senate caucuses.

Our agencies are a part of the voluntary sector. In recent times, the voluntary sector has been given a great deal of publicity—and has had enormous expectation placed upon it—for filling the gap left by withdrawal of Federal dollars from many programs so basic to the support of family well-being.

In order to assess what has been happening to our part of the voluntary sector, and to the families that our agencies serve, we recently asked our agencies to give us information about what were the most serious issues in these communities confronting them. There was an overwhelming response directed to the problems of the economy. It became apparent that all four concerns identified by a majority of our agencies were rooted in the problems of our present economy and the current laissez-faire social policy now popular in Washington. The issues identified were: unemployment, failure of the safety net, and the impact of the cuts in social programs; family violence; and the vulnerability of single-parent families.

We have a national economy in this Nation. Our agencies do not have the resources to fill the gap as a result of Federal cutbacks—a gap is growing. Their responses to our survey indicated that they are troubled because they cannot fulfill their mission and meet the needs of families in their communities. In most instances, the problems on their doorsteps have their root in the national economy.

Last year, Governor Snelling of Vermont, in an address to the United Way of America, Government Relations Committee, made an important observation, and I quote:

> Private charities that attempt to maintain income levels or feel responsible for moving in wherever government absents itself, won't be able to discharge their true responsibilities. The result will be frustration with private giving, equal to, and maybe even greater than the frustration which people have come to feel about use of their tax dollars.

This observation made a year ago was prophetic. Agencies increasingly find themselves confronted with families having problems that require governmental support: structural unemployment, or lack of job training and/or retraining, or the single-parent mother with insufficient education, and no day care, and no resources; the list goes on.

Policymakers must address the reality that we are a nation with a national economy that must include a sensitivity to the needs of families. The economy is in the midst of change, and families are the pawn in this historic process. Many have had their circumstances worsened by cuts in day care, cuts in subsidized jobs, cuts in title XX, and so forth. Policymakers, in my opinion, need to confront the fact that they need to comprehensively respond to the family stress, dislocation, and resultant breakdown in families that is underway.

I agree with Governor Snelling when he said:

> I believe the Federal Government cannot remove itself from responsibility for outcome. We already know about the assumption that the Federal Government must provide for the common defense, for stability of currency and economic affairs, and for the protection of persons and property. We must conclude, however, that our forefathers intended also that the Federal Government be a guarantor of last resort for a reasonable standard of nutrition, shelter, health—a standard of decency.

Our member agencies will continue to provide outreach services, to provide counseling services to the limits of our resources, to provide self-help forums for the unemployed, to provide therapy for violent families, but we need to be part of a partnership. A partnership with Government, and a partnership with you. Only when policymakers acknowledge that Federal policies and Federal actions—or nonactions—have an impact on millions of families in this Nation, can we begin to do the job that needs to be done as partners.

Thank you.

[The responses of Mrs. Johnson to questions asked follow:]

Family Service Association of America

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Strength to Families

Reply to:
FSAA-Office on Governmental Affairs
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 712
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 822-8390

November 17, 1983

Senator Jeremiah Denton
United States Senate
516 Hart Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Denton:

Thank you for your letter of October 13, 1983. I appreciate your interest in my testimony and in posing further questions for my consideration.

My response for the public hearing record is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Geneva B. Johnson

Geneva B. Johnson, President
and Chief Executive Officer
Family Service Association
of America

encl:

1. Does your organization believe that the government can provide better economic security than the private sector for American families? Are you able to notice the effects of the recovery on families that have been at risk during the recent recession?

1. Finding answers to the problem of providing economic security for the nation's families is especially difficult at this time. This is because we live in a period of unprecedented and irreversible change in our national economy.

   Ideally, economic security is a by-product of a healthy, expanding economy. The role of government, when this is the case, is restricted to providing assistance to the nation's most vulnerable families -- those on AFDC, food stamps, SSI, etc.

   The important question before the Congress and the country today, it seems to me, concerns the role of government and the private sector when the economy is not healthy and is undergoing unprecedented and historic change (I refer you again to statements in my text by Governor Snelling). During the 1980's changes in the economy will displace millions of workers from their jobs -- many permanently. And, just as importantly, there will be enormous consequences for their families. We in the private, non-profit sector, find ourselves unable to meet the challenge alone. It is my belief that answers to problems inherent in our economic system, will be found only through comprehensive efforts by both government and the private sector -- working together.

   The question and the answer are too overwhelming to be addressed in a limited or fragmented fashion. What is disturbing to me is that both Congress and this Administration have assumed a laissez faire social policy and response to the major problems of unemployment in the U. S. economy. The Jobs Training Partnership Act is, for example, another answer. We urge Congress to take the leadership in searching out realistic solutions to this problem.

   As indicated in my testimony, unemployment has been identified by the FSAA field as the most pressing and harmful problem facing American families today. We consider this matter to be of such urgency that our FSAA Board of Directors will be asked to approve a major position statement on the subject at a meeting on November 19. That position statement on unemployment is provided for the Committee today here in my materials.

Finally, with regard to the second part of your question, it is my impression, based on responses to two questionnaires submitted to our 265 agencies in 1983, that the economic recovery has not been felt in dozens of communities in this country where major plant closings or employee lay-offs ocurred during the recession. For the most part, most industries showing recovery are hiring back only a percentage of their original work-force. Automation has permanently displaced thousands who will never be called back. It is with these persons and their families that we are most concerned. Congress must remember, despite the encouraging national statistics about economic recovery, that places like Buffalo, Pittsburgh and Youngstown remain economic disasters.

FAMILIES AND UNEMPLOYMENT

A Position Statement
FAMILY SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
November 19, 1983

Major and irreversible changes in the U.S. economy have, in an unprecedented way, underscored the central importance of work in our society. Also revealed are the destructive consequences of unemployment and the costs that often impact the entire family of an unemployed worker. The Family Service Association of America feels compelled to speak out in behalf of the many presently unemployed workers and their families and the many more who will be displaced by the economy in the 1980's. The causes of unemployment, while complex, are not in dispute here. Regrettably, however, the victims and their families are often left to cope with devasting social and economic consequences in a social vacuum.[1]

BACKGROUND

When unemployment is tied to major fundamental changes in a national economy it clearly becomes a national problem with society-wide ramifications. Our history indicates that this is the case. Since World War II, the U.S. economy has been subjected to frequent recessions (1947, 1954, 1960, 1975, 1980 and 1981-82). The results of these recurring recessions have normally led to temporary loss of income as well as loss of economic and emotional security for thousands of families. Most recently, however, millions of blue and white collar workers and their families are being confronted with a new and far more frightening development: technological changes coupled with foreign competition which threaten to displace millions of the workers in the U.S. economy by the end of the 1980's. Often this job displacement means that the worker must be retrained for a new career or must accept a lower paying job — perhaps for the rest of his/her life — with the resultant social and economic dislocation of an entire family. It is for these workers and their families, therefore, that the fundamental shifts in the character and structure of the U.S. economy are so threatening. It is for them that new supports and options must be found.

THE PRICE OF JOB DISLOCATION IN THE U.S. ECONOMY

The isolation and devastation of total dislocation from a job at any age has enormous consequences for workers and their families. For the younger worker there is the anxiety of a family to feed and care for. For the older worker there is the experience of losing an entire lifetime of work history and experience or facing a major retraining experience at an unexpected and possibly inappropriate stage of life.

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[1] Bureau of National Affairs in Washington, D.C., reports that 1,287,411 persons lost their jobs in 1982 from plant layoffs and shutdowns — many of them permanently. See publication entitled, "Summary Report for 1982 Layoffs, Plant Closings and Concession Bargaining." Published by BNA. 16 page report.

Recent studies have exposed the multiple consequences of unemployment both for the unemployed individual and for his entire family. In the mid 1970's the findings of a study by researcher, M. Harvey Brenner — sponsored by the U.S. Congress' Joint Economic Committee — claimed the social costs for each one percent of increase in joblessness in the national economy as follows:

38,886 - deaths
20,240 - cardiovascular failures
494 - cases of death from cirrhosis of the liver
920 - suicides
648 - homicides

Another scholar, Louis Ferman, a Professor of Social Work and Research Director of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Michigan, who has been researching this topic for twenty years, states that Brenner's research leaves no doubt "... that there is an association between macroeconomic changes and changes in the aggregate measure of social pathology..."[2] Ferman, in his own research writes that "There is absolutely no debate about the fact that unemployment either provokes or uncovers physical and mental illness." With regard to families, he states: "Behind every individual pathology which is observed, is the iceberg of family suffering from the initial experience of job separation, consequent struggles to adjust to the loss of resources and the subsequent negative outcomes — mental and physical illness."[3]

THE FSAA MANDATE

FSAA regularly surveys its member agencies to stay abreast of issues they and their client families face. In 1983, member agency managers were surveyed about their perceptions of public issues which most affected the work of their organizations. Quite separately, another survey inquired about frequency of types of problems experienced by families utilizing their services. Both surveys highlighted the pervasive influence of unemployment upon families, and new services that family agencies needed to develop. These findings emphasized change from earlier similar studies in illuminating unemployment as the greatest concern affecting the work of family service agencies. Clearly, the time has come to emphasize a new priority for Family Service to respond to family need which unemployment activates.

Therefore, the FSAA Board of Directors resolves to give priority attention to the issue of unemployment through the program planning process for 1984-85, including:

1. Defining activities which may effectively utilize family service agencies to provide direct or preventive services for unemployed families.
2. Providing technical assistance to FSAA member agencies to carry out such tasks.
3. Monitoring governmental activities regarding unemployment as they affect families and family life.
4. Implementing education and advocacy activities nationally in behalf of unemployed families.

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[2] "After the Shutdown: The Social and Psychological Consequences of Job Displacement," by Louis A. Ferman, ILR Report, Spring, 1981 Issue

[3] Paper by Louis A. Ferman, "Some Health Aspects of Unemployment," University of Michigan, page 3.

[4] Reports of surveys, "Families and Their Concerns" and "Issues Identification" to be published by FSAA.

2. You mentioned that the vulnerability of the single parent mother is one of the issues that concerns you most. Do you feel that the enforcment of child support by the responsible father can alleviate the problems of the single parent mother? How can the proper role of government be strengthened to promote individual responsibility on the part of the parents?

   2. Our organization has been aware for some time that the problem and needs of single parent mothers are of major concern in communities and family service agencies around the nation. However, the identification by the FSAA field of this issue as a matter of public policy concern is quite recent. (Indicated in responses to an FSAA questionnaire in June 1983). We are only now beginning to look at legislative initiatives that address this problem. We do not have data that helps us to determine what solutions might be most useful in addressing the problems of the single parent mother.

   We have briefly studied the child support legislation now pending in the House, H. R. 4325, and are generally inclined to be positive about it. We have one concern, however, that does not appear to be addressed in the legislation or the House Report, No. 98-527. This concern relates to the rights of the AFDC mother to claim good cause from an absent father. Nor are the rights of the absent father (or protections) adequately addressed. We believe that both the protections for the mother from a person who might harm her or her child and some explicit statement about the rights of the father should appear in the legislation. Beyond this concern, we think the legislation should be helpful. We think a federal role in this social policy issue is very important. We do not believe that such legislation "will alleviate the problems of the single parent mother", however. Too many fathers have no income, or are quite young. In addition, the problems of the single parent mother are far more than just financial. You are well aware of this, of course.

   With regard to your question about how government can promote individual responsibility on the part of parents, my organization has taken no position at this time. This has become as complex a matter of social policy as has the welfare system itself. Building the right kind of incentives and disincentives into social programs has been extremely difficult in this country. Perhaps we all need to look at programs for this population as offered in European countries and explore the option of a children's or family allowance system for this country. I have no further comment at this time.

3. In your work with family service agencies across the country, can you describe examples of programs run by private agencies which are successfully supporting vulnerable families?

3. The mission of every family service agency is to serve vulnerable families. In fulfilling this mission the programs offered by our agencies vary tremendously. For example, many of our agencies have programs to serve the displaced workers and their families. These programs involve other support systems in the community -- both public and private -- to meet the complex needs of these displaced workers and their families. The range of support services includes family counseling, marriage counseling, substance abuse counseling, job counseling, self-help groups, (including efforts to build social relationships for these families who often become isolated from their community when unemployment strikes them), etc. A displaced worker, as you know often suffers such severe depression that his entire marriage can be at risk. The children suffer as much as the parents. So, in serving vlunerable families, I think these programs in our agencies are among the most important in today's economic environment.

As I said above, however, the programs vary tremendously depending on the needs of a given community. One agency may specialize in working more with adolescent problems through family life education programs for parents and their teenage children to help ease the stress and misunderstandings of the adolescent years. Another agency may specialize in developing a community-wide network of complex supports to address the ever growing problem of family violence. Fine examples of ways agencies are meeting the needs of vulnerable families -- whether to address problems of poverty, violence, substance abuse, marital breakdown -- could fill many pages. I think you understand my point. One of the best ways of finding out how truly extraordinary family service agencies really are is to visit one or more of them. There is, for example, an outstanding agency in the District of Columbia, another in Baltimore, and 265 of them throughout North America.

In closing let me say that I will provide for you a summary of several outstanding advocacy programs undertaken in the past year in family service agencies. These examples will give you a better idea of the scope and variety of programs offered to vulnerable families -- including the obvious successful outcomes -- better than any other answer I can offer. I enclose them for the record.

1983

MARGARET E. RICH AWARD

Key

(1) Center for Human Services, Cleveland, Ohio. Duane W. Beck, C.E.O.
Advocacy on behalf of state insurance legislation.

(2) Family Service of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Richard W. Inglis, C.E.O.
Housing Opportunities Bill.

(3) Family Service Association of Greater Boston, Mass. Patrick V. Riley, C.E.O.
The Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless.

(4) Lutheran Family and Children's Services, St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. Richard A. Eissfeldt, C.E.O.
"Christians Concerned": An Advocacy Newsletter

(5) Jewish Family & Children Services, Kansas City, Mo. Lee M. Kalik, C.E.O.
and
Family & Children Service of Kansas City, Mo., J.R. Majors, C.E.O.
"Operation Concern".

(6) Family Service of Memphis, Tennessee. Margaret H. Dichtel, C.E.O.
The Boxtow Advocacy Project

(7) Family Service of Milwaukee, Wisc., David L. Hoffman, C.E.O.
General Assistance

(8) Family Service of Milwaukee, Wisc., David L. Hoffman, C.E.O.
Cable T.V.

306

(1) Center for Human Services, Cleveland, Ohio
Advocacy on Behalf of State Insurance Legislation

I. PROBLEMS AND OBJECTIVES:

The attempts of this Agency in influencing state legislation were best demonstrated when the General Assembly enacted S. B. 336 in 1982. This bill was an extension of the 1978 S. B. 90, which had mandated outpatient insurance coverage in group contracts covering inpatient mental health and alcoholism services. The "sunset" provision of the earlier bill had scheduled its termination in 1982.

The bill was generated through the Senate Insurance Committee. From the outset it was apparent that social agency proponents of S. B. 336 needed to concentrate their efforts on the members of that committee and, subsequently, the entire Senate -- with particular attention directed toward those legislators who had not had experience with S. B. 90. The interest of the insurance industry in such legislation was obvious and substantial. Providers of insurance are generally reluctant to see coverage expanded. Their opposition to the bill represented an opposition to be overcome.

The single and primary objective of this advocacy effort was directed at securing the passage of S. B. 336; however, the Advocacy Committee of the Board of Trustees of the Agency quickly recognized the longer-term benefits of developing a strong internal organization for influencing legislation and working in cooperation with other interested organizations within the state.

II. BOARD/STAFF ROLES:

The Agency played a major part in the education of state legislators related to the benefits of the earlier bill (S. B. 90) and the projected value to the community contingent upon the passage of Senate Bill 336. The time schedule mandated by the expiration of S. B. 90 (12/31/81) required that the major effort in behalf of S. B. 336 would be exerted before mid-year 1982. The steps included in this effort follow:

a. Collection of facts by the Agency's Advocacy Office, including numbers of clients served under S. B. 336, income generated and anticipated and general results achieved and expected.

b. General orientation of state legislators to this agency and its community roles. This has been accomplished through:

    1. Specific identification of close board-legislator connections, utilized as primary communications channels

2. LEGISLATIVE BREAKFAST, an informational session with trustees as hosts and legislators as guests.
3. Specific contacts with legislators related to the intrinsic values of S. B. 336 for the clientele of the agency.
4. Thank-you's to those senators who assisted with the passage of this bill.

C. Cooperation, especially through staff representation, with community and state organizations working in behalf of families. Particularly important in this regard was the Agency's Director of Advocacy's participation in:

1. Federation for Community Planning's Citizen Assembly for Mental Health,
2. Family Service Council in this particular state.

The organization of the efforts listed above was effected largely through an Advocacy Committee of trustees and community representatives who meet regularly to keep current on issues requiring local, state and national contacts. In turn this committee works through the Board of Trustees by reporting regularly at meetings, and by following up through interested individuals.

III. OBSTACLES AND ACTION:

The State Senate's Committee on Elections, Financial Institutions & Insurance includes 8 members, 3 of whom represent districts in the county of the Agency. One Senator, in particular was serving his first term during the hearings in S. B. 336, and his support was considered most important. A concentration of effort, on the part of staff, clients and trustees, was made in behalf of informing and influencing him with regards to this legislation. Evidences of the effects of those efforts were seen in the expressions of his attitude between Nov., 1981 and Jan., 1982.

The challenge to human service non-profits to counter the forces of the corporate world in effecting legislation was and is still conceived as a David-Goliath struggle. So, to the social service agency, the organization of an effective strategy was critical. It is impossible for the Agency to estimate the numbers of letters, telephone calls and in-person contacts made by staff, clients and volunteers in the pursuit of this one piece of legislation, S. B. 336. The Agency feels their cumulative impact, combined with the similar attempts from other interested persons and organizations, made the difference. S. B. 336, with its benefits to those seeking help around problems of mental health and/or alcoholism, is now a reality, with families the ultimate beneficiaries.

V. IMPACT ON THE AGENCY AND COMMUNITY:

The effects of the insurance coverage initiated by S. B. 90 and extended through S. B. 336 have been registered in dollars in Agency income. Fees for counseling in alcoholism and outpatient mental health cases in 1979 amounted to approximately $50,000. Today the annual provision through health insurance contracts varies from $200,000 - $250,000. Although the Agency is large, with a proportionately larger clientele than most, it feels the cumulative results of this kind of reimbursement has had a very healthy impact on the social services network.

The Agency has felt it important to fit this effort on one specific piece of legislation into an established, stable and continuous force which represents both classes and cases and which acts through administrative as well as legislative complexes. The Advocacy staff in the Agency is part-time only, representing less than .4% of the Agency's annual budget; yet its responsibility is as a full-time champion/watchdog organization, almost totally voluntary, to represent unmet needs and goals for more than 10,000 clients served annually.

A statistical analysis of the clientele in active Agency service between Jan., 1, 1983 and June 30, 1983 revealed that 18% of those served in Individual and Family Counseling or the Employee Assistance Programs were subsidized partially or totally by insurance. When translated into human beings, this represents 544 cases out of a total of 3,061, certainly adequate to demonstrate the significance of the fundamental legislation which enabled this assistance.

(2) Family Service of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Housing Opportunities Bill

I. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND AGENCY OBJECTIVE:

Prior to 1980 many families and individuals in the city (Northeastern, urban, industrial) of the Agency were denied housing because of certain discriminatory practices by landlords, real estate companies, and lending institutions. In response, the Agency organized, co-chaired, and staffed a broad based coalition of over 70 social service, civic and community organizations to fight for passage of a bill to amend the City Charter to prohibit discrimination in housing on the basis of legal source of income, age, marital status, or the presence of children.

II. HOW THE AGENCY ARRIVED AT DECISION:

In 1970, over 90,000 families in the city or one of every five, were headed by women. Over 114,000 children under 18 lived in these households. Discrimination forced these families to live in substandard housing, to move from one emergency shelter to another, to live in overcrowded homes with friends or relatives, or to send their children to live elsewhere or put them in foster care. The impetus for the housing legislation was to protect female-headed families from being denied housing because landlords disapproved a woman's marital situation, feared children, or thought that the income of a single-parent female was unreliable. It also became apparent that, while discrimination against the single parent family was the most prevalent and disturbing problem, many other groups were also being harmed by discrimination. The Agency's major concerns, as evidenced by their caseload, were for single parent families, teenage parents, and young married couples who were forced to live with their families because they were considered too young.

III. OUTCOME SOUGHT:

The outcome sought by the agency was, as mentioned above, passage of Housing Opportunities Bill (HOB).

IV. STRATEGY FORMULATED TO ACHIEVE OUTCOME:

The strategy formulated to achieve passage of the Housing Opportunities Bill consisted primarily of two parts. The first was coalitional activity. The Agency initiated communication with many other social service organizations in the city urging them to join in the formation of a coalition to support the fair housing legislation. These efforts resulted in the formation of the Housing Opportunities Coalition (HOC). The second part of the devised strategy involved strong advocacy efforts - by the HOC directly to members of the City Council, and a grass roots approach with other social service organizations.

The HOC planned:

1. To set up a media committee to work on a press conference and individual press contacts.
2. Individuals agreed to contact City Council members that they knew.
3. To identify a group of representatives to meet with the Rules Committee of the City Council (where the legislation had been stalled for several years).
4. To prepare and distribute a fact sheet on this issue.

Later, once the HOB was enacted in 1980, HOC members worked directly with the city to help implement the bill and to educate the public, the media, and landlords to the effects of the law.

V. INVOLVEMENT OF STAFF AND BOARD:

In addition to initial organization of the Housing Opportunities Coalition, the Agency family advocate was responsible for communicating with member organizations, coordinating lobbying activities, motivating and sustaining members' continued interest and participation, acting as spokesperson, broadening support, writing and signing all correspondence and keeping the coalition on course. All support and secretarial services were provided by the agency.

The Agency's public relations director attended coalition meetings serving as communications consultant, arranged television and radio interviews for the director of family advocacy, prepared news releases, arranged media coverage, edited coalition fact sheets and other written communications, and developed the information on how to write letters to the editor which was distributed to the coalition.

Individual staff and board members communicated with Councilpeople, urged other organizations to join the coalition, wrote letters to the editor, and notified the director of family advocacy about meetings where the Housing Opportunities Bill could be presented. One board member arranged for the director of family advocacy to speak at his temple, another hosted the family advocate and a Family Service counselor on her television talk show.

Later on, Agency staff testified at City Council.

VI. SUPPORT ENLISTED FROM OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:

The Housing Opportunities Coalition, consisted of a wide variety of community organizations: The Women's Law Project, the ACLU, Community Legal Services, YWCA, American Association of University Women, Catholic Social Services, Tenant Action Group, the local Grey Panthers and NOW organizations, and the American Federation of Government Employees.

VII. BARRIERS TO SUCCESS:

The Agency had been involved in efforts to enact legislation similar to the HOB since 1977. Earlier attempts to secure passage of fair housing legislation had failed. Despite these setbacks, the Agency and its allies persisted in their efforts and continued to advocate on behalf of the legislation. The Coalition used subsequent local political elections to educate and influence candidates, and keep the momentum of their advocacy going through new city administrations.

VIII. IMPACT ON FAMILIES AND THE COMMUNITY:

In July 1980, a Fair Practices Ordinance was signed into law by the City.

The hard fought campaign by the Agency, particularly its advocacy department, and its allies in the Housing Opportunities Coalition was effective and a success.

Shortly after the legislation was signed into law, the first complaint was filed by a young mother with 2 pre-school aged children who was told that the operators of an apartment she had inquired about would not accept children. A subsequent investigation resulted in the signing of a consent decree ordering the apartment operators to fully comply with the housing law and "desist from directly or indirectly refusing to sell, rent or lease or in any way discriminate because of the presense of children in a household".

(3) Family Service Association og Greater Boston, Boston, Mass.
The Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

The phenomenom of homelessness within the community of the Agency had been deepening dramatically in numbers and severity during the later 1970's and early 1980's. Both the urban housing crisis and economic depression had created a strain on the resources and services available to the homeless. In response to heavy demand and extensive exposure to the problem in the media, the state's Department of Mental Health set up a shelter. Despite a 6-month campaign by both shelter workers and religious activists, the shelter was shut down by the state. At this time, The Agency, along with other concerned groups, decided to utilize its resources and influence to bear on this problem. They felt that the political structures within the state did not regard homelessness as a legitimate policital issue and therefore failed to respond to the pressing and growing needs of the homeless. There existed at the time no legal precedent in the state to respond to the problem of homelessness.

II. THE OUTCOME SOUGHT:

The Agency sought to develop a mechanism for addressing the substantive concerns around the growing problem of homelessness in the state. This would include efforts to organize and press the issue into the political arena of the state legislature and executive branch of government (which can respond to public demand) and to transform a personal agenda into a political agenda. In organizing an effective advocacy movement, the Agency outlined four objectives:

1. To expand membership base.
2. To influence state policy.
3. To effect systems delivery to homeless people.
4. To influence national policy.

III. STRATEGIES FORMULATED TO ACHIEVE OUTCOME:

1. Expand membership base (from personal to organizational, and in numbers and types of organizations).

   Strategy: Coalitional activity: To find common political ground, to organize and to effectively work with a diverse membership in order to develop common goals and strategies. The Agency played an instrumental role in the formation and all subsequent activities of the Coalition for the Homeless (CH).

2. Influence state policy:

   Strategy: To develop a state-wide political base.

   A. As a first step, the CH sponsored and initiated a state-wide conference on homelessness. A variety of organizations participated. The focus was to share information and generate knowledge of this statewide problem.

   B. The second step was local organizing - to organize regional coalitions around the state, to have regional representatives on the CH, and to take a coordinated response to these actions the new Govenor's transition team (on which was an Agency staff member) approached CH for help in formulating a homelessness policy. CH maintained follow-up relationship with the state administration representatives. An Advisory Board on Homelessness was formed. Active correspondence between CH and the Governor ensued pressing the Governor to support legislation providing security to the homeless.

3. Effect systems delivery to homeless people:

   Strategy: Concentrated advocacy - to work actively to assure that homeless persons were receiving needed assistance from all public entitlement programs. A benefits Committee was established (shelter workers, housing advocates, community agencies) to work with the state Department of Public Welfare in identifying needs and problems of the homeless and in formally establishing shelters. In working with the Benefits Committee, DH established reputation with state administration as committed and knowledgeable.

4. Influence national policy:

   Strategy: To expand national political base to address the problem of homelessness on the national level. At an annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Welfare, CH representative helped coordinate various state groups into a National Coalition for the Homeless (NCH). Congressional hearings on the problems of the homeless were held in December 1982, and Congress was lobbied by these groups for funds to assist localities and states to address the problems of the homeless. CH continues to work with NCH to develop a national agenda for organizations wishing to join together to address common concerns.

IV. THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF INVOLVEMENT OF BOARD AND STAFF MEMBERS:

Board: As background, in 1979 the Agency established a Housing Advocacy program through its Advocacy Department. Subsequent demand for this program's services was overwhelming. This increased the Agency Board's awareness of the severity of the problem. In response, the Board, in 1980, passed a resolution authorizing the agency to address the housing concerns of its clients. Agency staff feels that the full and strong support of its committed and influential Board has been essential to the success of the Agency's advocacy efforts on behalf of the homeless. Without their support, the agency feels that staff and resources would not have been made available to act on the issue. Their vocal support helped CH to be viewed as a respectable, articulate, and well-informed coalition. Key members of the Board helped CH members develop fund raising skills and personal connections in the foundation community.

Staff: The Agency's involvement in the issue of homelessness and with the CH is based on an underlying assumption that, since for many persons requesting services from the Agency, the causes of at least some of their problems are rooted in social policy and programs, it is the obligation of the agency to identify and effectively address those policies and programs which adversely affect the well being of the family unit. With this guiding philosophy the Agency's Advocacy Department was able to provide coalition members with necessary technical assistance and supportive services. Staff for the Advocacy Department were hired who had ample skill and experience in coalition building, executing fund raising campaigns, building membership organizations, developing organizational structure, and identifying and executing successful strategies for implementing social change.

V. SUPPORT FROM OTHER AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS:

The Agency has, since the inception of the project, worked closely with many human service agencies throughout the state. Activities in which the Agency has enlisted the support and assistance of other agencies has ranged from requesting agency directors to participate in educational forums to requesting agencies in other parts of the state to sponsor and sustain a VISTA volunteer.

Coalition members have involved a myriad of members of community agencies affected by the problem of homelessness in its organization and its activities. These organizations include (among others): The Social Action Ministries, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Meredith and Associates, Project Bread, and the United Way.

VI. BARRIERS TO SUCCESS:

While there was sufficient commitment and concern over developing resources for the homeless, the groups initially involved were not focused and not organized in a way to lead to more productive outcome. The two groups involved at the start were those affiliated with the shelter and the church organization. Neither group understood the political realities of government that were inhibiting their cause at the time. The Agency had to overcome the obstacles this condition created - to bring together two different groups with two different ideaologies.

VII. IMPACT ON THE AGENCY:

In July '83, the Agency received a grant to provide training and technical assistance to front line workers providing services to clients who are homeless or experiencing a housing crisis. This is a clear example of the impact of the CH's activities on the Agency. The Agency has become an authority on homelessness in the state. Requests are received regularly from legislators, other organizations, public and private, for technical assistance, consultations, training and testimony.

The experiences with the CH have reinforced the Agency's belief in the efficacy and effectiveness of advocacy as a direct service. Both the Board and Staff are now much more knowledgeable about and supportive of advocacy. In addition, it also solidified the belief in "primary prevention", "coalition building", "strengthening family life", "speaking out on behalf of others", etc.

VIII. IMPACT ON THE COMMUNITY:

Currently the Coalition for the Homeless is a viable and effective state-wide organization, able to develop and implement successful strategies to bring about needed changes in social policies impacting on the problem of homelessness. Through this project, the Agency has achieved the following 3 goals:

1. Agency support was essential in creating a mechanism whereby a very diverse group of people and agencies could work together to develop a cohesive program which would influence government policies and programs on behalf of homeless men, women and children. CH will continue to listen

to the needs of shelter workers, soup kitchens providers, and church leaders, while fostering activity that address the fundamental causes of homelessness.

2. The existence of a viable coalition of hundreds of agencies and individuals concerned with the plight of homeless people has made this issue of homelessness in the state a political issue. Homelessness is no longer a hidden problem; nor is it a problem with which the traditional charitable institutions are assigned sole responsibility. Rather, homelessness is now seen as an issue in which citizens of this commonwealth effectively intervened in the political process where social policy and law are created and implemented.

3. The lives of many of the homeless men, women and children in the state have been helped by the formulation of an active state policy.

(4) Lutheran Family and Children's Services - St. Louis, Mo.
"Christians Concerned": An Advocacy Newsletter

In January 1983, this Agency began publication of a monthly newsletter specifically geared toward advocacy. This Advocacy Newsletter was the result of requests and suggestions from both the Agency Board of Directors and area-wide congregations (this agency is a sectarian agency).

The Advocacy Newsletter is a clear example of an initiative by the Agency to educate its constituency and to influence government policies and programs on behalf of families. The first edition of the Newsletter states the important role advocacy plays in the mission and in day-to-day activities of the Agency:

> "How Christians behave in society is a response to their understanding of the Word of God, both Law and Gospel. One area of that response is often called advocacy.....(the Agency) has considered advocacy to be an integral component of our service delivery and our programs".

The first six editions of the newsletter, from January to June 1983, have been submitted for consideration. They are each four to six pages long, are neatly printed, and are embellished with an attractive, colored logo. Each issue is quite varied in content: Discussing pertinent local, state and national issues; instructing readers how to contact elected political representatives; listing speakers available on a variety of issues for discussion groups or meetings; presenting a calendar of important local events.

For example, the first edition of the Newsletter included:

- The addresses of local Congressmen and U. S. Senators. Also, phone numbers of local election boards for additional information regarding elections, etc.
- Two articles, one discussing the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program, the other discussing the controversies surrounding Social Security reform (along with a schedule of Congressional hearings, urging people to contact their Congressmen on the issue).
- A calendar of events, featuring a planned meeting on "Economic Justice and the 1984 Budget" and a Legislative Briefing.

Subsequent editions of the Advocacy Newsletter covered such issues as General Assistance, energy assistance, AFDC, food stamps, the Jobs Bill, the Immigration Reform and Control Act, an in-depth discussion on that particular state's fiscal situation, and health care for the unemployed. Also, other local, state and national organizations of potential interest are introduced, such as Bread for the World and a specific state-based welfare reform organization. These are only some examples, and, in each case, coverage is easy to read, thorough, and accurate.

(5) Jewish Family and Children's Services - Kansas City, Mo.
&
Family and Children Service of Kansas City, Mo. (Operation Concern)

A serious mental health problem exists in the U. S. due to the emergence and continual growth of destructive cults. Colleges and Universities are a major source for recruitment for cults; the city of these two family service agencies is particularly concerned because it has 49 colleges and universities in its area, several of which have established cult organizations on their campuses.

Two major Family Service Agencies in this city have established and maintained a collaborative effort, "Operation Concern", a program designed to meet the needs of specific crisis points in the lives of those dealing with the cult phenomenum. "Operation Concern" provides resource information and education to the community regarding cults, offers a monthly three-hour support group for former cult members and families of cult members, and provides individual therapy and/or referral information. Since the 70's saw an increase in the religious cult movement in the United States, there was a need for professional services to the families. This is a relatively new venture for family service agencies.

These two agencies first became involved in this effort in 1980. At this time, faced with increasing demand, staff learned that no organization in their metropolitan area was focusing on cult related problems. A group was formed in the area; meetings were attended by Psychiatrists, Attorneys, Clergy, cult members and their families. The two Family Service Agencies joined in sponsorship of the program, with each Agency offering one worker as a professional for the group. The professionals from both Agencies have defined their role as facilitators for the monthly support group, consultants to the group, liaisons between "Operation Concern" and the wider city community, and clinicians (when individual therapy is needed). Initially the liaison function was to interview and screen potential applicants wanting or needing to join the support group. This function, however, has since been broadened to include public relations and eduction to the community regarding cults.

"Operation Concern", provides an average of six lectures each month to area groups and answers approximately ten phone calls weekly from individuals needing information. Churches, synogogues, civic groups, high schools, hospitals, professional groups (Attorneys, Kiwanis Clubs) and universities have hosted lectures on cults with speakers provided by "Operation Concern". In addition, articles and interviews have appeared in several of that cities newspapers, three local television stations, and one radio station.

"Operation Concern" members were also involved in providing information about cults which aided in the writing of a House bill in the state legislature that will be introduced in December 1983. This bill relates to the appointment of a temporary guardian in certain circumstances, such as when the individual has undergone a substantial behavioral change and lacks substantial capacity to make informed decisions or to understand or control his/her conduct.

"Operation Concern", became a member of the Citizens Freedom Foundation in March, 1983. The Citizens Freedom Foundation is a nationally based group whose focus is to educate the public concerning destructive cults. Of 54 chapters in 31 states, "Operation Concern" is the only group facilitated by professional social workers from two area agencies. "Operation Concern" has also received support from the state's Human Rights Commission. The Commission noted that future referrals regarding cults would be sent to "Operation Concern".

The program has also had an impact on families with members in cults. By providing information, support and therapy, each individual has an opportunity to discuss cult phenomenon, as well as their own personal situation with others having the same concern. In some instances family relations were able to be maintained in a more positive basis and other members saw their children leave the cult while participating in "Operation Concern". The program has aided former cult members to readjust to society.

Generally, 15 persons attend the monthly support group meeting. These individuals change, as their needs change, and it is estimated that "Operation Concern", has served at least 75 persons since its conception in 1980. In addition, thousands of persons have been educated about cults through lectures and media coverage. The cult "hotline" has also been an outlet for giving information to individuals in the community. It is estimated that 10 calls are answered each week serving approximately 1500 persons over the past three years.

(6) Family Service of Memphis - Memphis, Tennessee
The Boxtown Advocacy Project

Agency involvement with the Boxtown community began in the late 1970's. Founded at the turn of the century by sharecroppers who had built their homes from old boxcars, Boxtown was (and remains) a small, stable community: 733 people in 331 households; 97% black; 58% had lived in the same house for over 10 years; 51% owned their homes; 42% were retired; 52% earned less than $3,000 per year (1978 statistics). Although only a 15-minute drive by expressway from a large Southeastern city, the community was isolated: Only one bus ran through, the closest stop a mile away from some of the residents; the nearest health facility was there miles away; it contained only four commercial establishments and six churches.

The Agency first became involved in the Boxtown Advocacy Project while doing outreach work in the schools of close neighboring areas. Several referrals of Boxtown residents were made to the Agency, and the Agency found itself involved in rural casework, a new experience for staff.

Agency staff reported a growing need for advocacy services in the Boxtown area because of extensive housing, health and transportation problems. Agency staff and Board then agreed to target the area in its advocacy efforts; proposals for Title XX funds were submitted for 1979 and 1980, neither were granted.

A more aggressive campaign on behalf of Boxtown was then initiated. First, the Agency Board invited a County Commissioner to tour Boxtown. She had never seen the area and quickly became committed to facilitating a project to respond to the needs she saw.

She then talked to other politicians, administrators of county and city services, and interested a reporter of a daily paper in doing an extensive series of articles focusing on Boxtown's needs. In December 1979, the Agency helped her arrange the first community meeting at a Boxtown church. Over 100 elected officials, agency representatives, volunteers and local residents came together to plan ways to assist Boxtown. The Agency and other interested community persons at that meeting, became the "BoxtownAction Now Committee" (BANCO), and were divided into two groups -- one addressing long range goals which included citizens and politicians and the other, a short-range task force of agencies with goal of identifying and coordinating existing programs and services available to the area. The Executive Director of the Agency was named the short-range Chairperson because of the agency's experience as advocates for service to Boxtown families. The short-range group met for several months organizing a cooperative network aiming at facilitating better service to Boxtown.

In May 1980, the entire Boxtown area was surveyed by the Agency, committee, Board, staff members and volunteers. On Survey Day all of the staff (except two clerical workers, who remained to answer the phones) spent the day in Boxtown knocking on doors and interviewing residents. Later, the Agency received a grant from the county which was a fraction of the original proposal budget. The project target population for the outreach service was reduced in scope to a number manageable by the present Agency staff.

The preceding events marked the beginning of a two-level advocacy involvement of the Agency with the community of Boxtown. While the staff was involved in direct services to the families, there were ongoing efforts to bring assistance to the residents in their continuing struggle to achieve the progress which they desired. The Board and staff maintained a commitment to the original goals of encouraging and enabling residents to be their own advocates with the government bodies and to assist them in finding avialable services to meet their immediate needs.

Many things happened in Boxtown because of the involvement of the long-range planning members of BANCO under the leadership of the Commissioner. Most of the efforts were coordinated by the Agency. One event of which the community was especially proud was the First Annual Boxtown Community Day. It took place in August 1980 and the residents, the Agency and other community volunteers worker together to have a successful day-long "old time" neighborhood fair. Agencies exhibited information and demonstrations of their services; the Senior Citizens and Girl Scouts showed and sold their arts and crafts; the church ladies prepared and sold food; and the Agricultural Extension Division awarded prizes for the winning gardeners.

Among those persons who were attracted to the plight of Boxtown by all of the renewed attention was the U. S. Representative to Congress. He held his own hearing in the area and also promised the residents his assistance. He was also instrumental in having the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to pay a personal visit to Boxtown when he was visiting the large neighboring city.

The continuing interest and support of the Agency encouraged the leaders of Boxtown. Board members were involved in meeting with the community and the staff was highly visible in the neighborhood, through individual contact as well as work with the groups. Outreach, casework, community organization and coalition building helped to revitalize the sagging spirits of this neighborhood.

Although they had been turned down for urban renewal programs, community development and recent request for federal rehabilitation grant, they received a federal Community Services Administration planning grant. With this grant, a staff of four persons (two of them from the neighborhood) were hired to plan and coordinate services for Boxtown. The Commissioner personally invited CSA Director in Atlanta to come and see Boxtown.

One of the first activities of the Planning Grant Staff was to hold a workshop for representatives from all of the groups working in Boxtown. They were given information which had been accumulated by the Agency during the project for their use in coordination and planning. They planned to train neighborhood leaders to carry on the planning and strategy after the grant period.

In July 1983, the Forth Annual Boxtown Festival was held, with the goal of raising $40,000 for a community center. The Festival had carnival rides, food, and was declared quite successful by community residents. Agency staff were again involved in the Festival, but neighborhood leaders were in charge.

Now additional physical and environmental improvements may be forthcoming as the City Council is contemplating use of $1.2 million in unallocated federal jobs bill monies in the Boxtown area.

From 1979 to the present time, Agency staff has continued to work with residents on numerous problems of health and welfare and has continued to serve in an advocacy capacity in the community.

The agency Board of Directors elected to membership on the Board of Directors of the Agency one of the residents of Boxtown, also an agency client.

Family Service of Milwaukee, Wisc.
(7) General Assistance

I. BACKGROUND

The costs of the General Assistance financial aid program in this state are born by the county; the state historically has not provided any funding for this program.

General Assistance recipients are "the poorest of the poor", those who have nowhere else to turn for assistance. Eligibility is restricted to single people or families who do not qualify for AFDC. In this particular county, the costs of, and numbers participating in, this program have grown tremendously; by 1983, General Assistance had become the single largest item in the county budget. Costs have risen from a ten-year average of $8 million annually to over $30 million in 1983; participants have increased from 2,000 in 1980 to a current 1983 projection of over 11,000.

II. THE PROBLEM

To control costs, the County Executive proposed in the 1982 budget that the county start a meals and shelter program for General Assistance recipients. The program, "two hots and a cot", would set up a large shelter for over 3,000 individuals where they would be provided with a bed for the night and two hot meals per day. This was seen as a strong deterrent to those applying for General Assistance, in the County Executive's opinion. The program was viewed as so impractical - by social service professionals in particular - that few took it seriously at the time. However, due to serious financial constraints, the Social Services Committee of the County Board voted to initiate the "two hots and a cot" program in June 1982.

III. RESOLUTION OF THE SHORT TERM PROBLEM

General Assistance has been a major concern of this Agency, due to the historical political powerlessness of the recipient group and the magnitude of their needs as indicated by Agency caseload. Following the County Board committee's vote, therefore, the Agency's Executive Director, Public Affairs Director, and Public Issues Committee Chairman decided to launch an organizational effort with others concerned about the program and its effects on the community.

Within days, the Public Affairs Director of the Agency, along with two other community agency representatives, met with the County Board Social Services Committee to point out the serious problems implementation of the "two hots and a cot" program would cause in the community. The committee responded that they had had no input from the community regarding this problem, and saw no other reasonable alternative. The group of social service agency representatives stated that they would convene a study group of community leaders to propose an alternative plan. The committee then agreed to table the "two hots and a cot" proposal for thirty days.

A study group was formed and given the following charges by the committee:

1. Propose alternatives to the current approved plan

(OVER)

for revising the General Assistance program while reducing the cost of the program.

2. Review the implications of the current approved plan and recommend any preferred implementation measures.

3. Offer significant information, observations, or recommendations regarding a General Assistance program.

4. Make recommendations regarding future community based review of General Assistance problems and resolutions.

Following four intense and difficult meetings, a report was submitted to the County Board of Supervisors, which voted to accept almost all of the study group's recommendations.

Throughout this effort, the Public Issues Committee of the Agency's Board was often contacted for advice and input. Also, members of this committee personnally contacted their supervisor's to obtain support for the study group's recommendations.

IV. RESOLUTION OF THE LONG TERM PROBLEM

The study group then decided to look at the long-term direction of the General Assistance program. The recommendation they felt would have the greatest impact would be to involve state government in the problem of General Assistance. The Agency's Public Issues Committee also decided to include study of the program as one of its objectives for 1983.

The Public Issues Consortium, established in 1980 with the help of the Agency and composed of Board members and staff representatives of all family and children's agencies in the city, would provide leadership at the local level to push for a change in state law to provide help to local governments in funding all or part of the General Assistance costs.

A lobbying plan was developed by the Consortium early in 1983 geared to the local state representatives and senators. With the help of the County Office on Intergovernmental Relations and the state Association of Family and Children's Agencies, a breakfast meeting was planned to discuss and share ideas about General Assistance and other items in the state budget which would affect agencies and their clients. Several state legislators were invited to attend.

The meeting proved especially productive. Under the leadership of the legislators that attended that meeting, the state legislature passed a budget in June 1983 that for the first time gave counties 10% of the funds needed for General Assistance.

Family Service of Milwaukee, Wisc.
(8) Cable T. V.

BACKGROUND

Early in 1981, this agency, along with several other local organizations,* decided to become involved in the issue of cable T.V. and the role Cable T.V. would play in the future of their city (a large Great Lakes metropolitan area).

The decision to become involved in cable T.V. was not an easy one for the Agency. After extensive study, they decided that cable T.V. would touch most people's lives in some way by the year 2000. It would continue to be a powerful medium of communication. By coming into the home, it would greatly affect the family. And through its experiences in Family Life Education classes, the Agency had learned that a major concern of parents was the influence of T.V. on their children. The Agency decided that it was necessary to involve family service and other non-profit agencies in the cable franchising process - to have some major influence on a new method of communication.

THE PROCESS

A coalition was needed that could convey interest and concern over the direction of cable T.V. and its implications for the community. The Citizens Cable Coalition (CCC) was a loosely formed organization whose purpose was to begin exploration of the future of cable T.V. They were concerned that during the franchise and award process many of the issues they were concerned about would not receive adequate attention by the City's elected officials.

In its first three months of operation, this coalition was able to exert influence to help establish the city ordinance for cable T.V. They were able to have a number of items mandated for in the bid specifications for the city's cable system. These included a strong affirmative action requirement; the establishment of an independent access authority whose purpose would be to help citizens and non-profits in the production of cable programming; and universal service, free basic service that would include local programming only.

As they became more involved in the process, they realized the great potential of cable for non-profits. An organization or institution's ability to produce its own programs at little or no cost was an opportunity that could prove to be extremely worthwhile. In further researching the cable franchising process in other large cities, they found that the concerns of non-profits had not been addressed; cable companies took care of those organizations that had a degree of political influence, while others were left out.

In the spring of 1981, the Agency asked the local United Way and the local Conference on Religion and Urban Affairs to co-sponsor a more formal coalition that would have wider membership and would serve not only as a voice for non-profits but also as a resource for information and education about cable T.V. The new coalition was named the Citizens Cable Resource Network (CCRN). Staff support for the organization would be provided by the Agency and the local Conference on Religion and Urban Affairs; the local United Way would provide supplies, mailing costs, etc.

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* These organizations included: the local Urban League, Social Development Council, the County Central Labor Council, the Citizens Coalition, the office of the County Supervisor, the Conference on Religion and Urban Affirs.

The goal of CCRN was "not to endorse any applicant for the city's franchise, but rather to assess their member organization's own cable-related needs and to promote the development of a cable system which will be responsive to those needs". They wanted to prevent the development of a system that responded to the needs of one sector of the community at the expense of others. Their goal was to develop a report within one year which could be used to educate the cable companies and the city to the needs of their member agencies.

With the help of the local United Way, over 68 organizations were recruited to join CCRN. After a six-month period during which basic information and standards were developed, a final report was approved by the total membership. After approval of the final report, the group developed a public relations plan to explain to the city aldermen, cable companies, and the general public the contents of the report and why it was important to the community.

An educational team of volunteers was formed to call on the aldermen and the cable companies to explain the report and answer questions. They also had top leadership meet with the editorial boards of the newspapers and T.V. stations. These contacts generated a great deal of interest and debate about the report. The aldermen began to recognize the importance of cable T.V. to the non-profit community, and many of them used the information contained in the report in the selection process.

After the cable contract was awarded in June of 1982, the group developed a close working relationship with the Telecommunications Office and the aldermen in the structuring and establishment of the city's Access Telecommunications Authority. They developed a list of principles for how the organization should be set up. The majority of these principles were adopted by the aldermen and the Mayor's Office. This was accomplished again through the use of teams of volunteers and staff from member organizations.

In September 1983, the Access Telecommunications Authority board were appointed by the aldermen and the Mayor. Four out of the seven appointments are volunteers from CCRN member organizations.

In October 1983, CCRN will hold its final meeting and turn over its responsibility to the Access Telecommunications Authority, which will be incorporated at the same time. It will be funded through a provision in the cable contract, with a budget during the first four years of operation of over $1,000,000. Almost $2,000,000 will be available for equipment and 3-5 channels will be provided for public access. These are resources that will serve non-profit organizations and families in the community well in the years to come.

Senator Denton. Thank you, Mrs. Johnson.

Before I call on Dr. Mays, I would like to read a paragraph that was in my written statement, which responds to some of the things you said.

Based on the House of Representatives' example, I believe that the Senate should have a comparable special committee with budget and staff to work in a bipartisan way on building up the Senate's record of concern for families, youth, and children. That is why I have introduced, along with Senator DeConcini and Senator Hatch, Senate Resolution 185, to establish a temporary Special Committee on Familiy, Youth, and Children. I urge all of my Senate colleagues, including those who are members of the Caucus on the Family, as well as those members of the Children's Caucus, to join in a common cause to see a special, temporary Senate committee established to focus on family and children's issues.

As you probably know, a caucus has no money. A caucus has no staff. A special committee would not have legislative mandate, but it would have staff. As you also probably know, from working with Senators and Congressmen's staffs, they, like the Senators and Congressmen, are not underworked. With the thousands of issues floating around out there, sometimes we know much too little about them before we vote on them, much less move on them, in the way that you and others who are sensitive to this issue would like us to. I am aware that liberal columnists, William Raspberry; for example, are insistent that there is a national emergency in terms of the family, and the Government cannot turn away from it.

As I pointed out in my oral remarks, family issues are not a hot issue. They do not manifest themselves within the elected terms, even of a President.

It is a gradual, but monumental thing, but we are well along the way toward social deterioration involved with the family. This is the basic cause of many other situations which we are addressing directly, as if they are the problems rather than symptoms.

We may have many disagreements about the best ways to go, but I certainly want to work with you, as you said, in partnership, to study it, and work ahead.

And I would welcome your support of Senate Resolution 185.

Mrs. Johnson. We support it.

Senator Denton. Dr. Mays, will you please proceed?

Dr. Mays. Yes. For the record, I am James A. May, M.D., cardiologist.

Senator Denton. Would you put that mike a little closer to you, please, Dr. Mays?

Dr. Mays. For the record, I am James A. May, M.D., cardiologist, creator of Radian and Adopt-A-Family Endowment. I just arrived from Los Angeles and I do have jet lag, and my typist also had jet lag so I am going to read my official statement and you may use the statement submitted only for reference purposes.

Mr. Chairman, members of the Subcommittee on Family and Human Services——

Senator Denton. Let me interrupt, Dr. Mays. Your entire written statement, as well as the statements of Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Ahrens will all be included in the record.

Dr. MAYS. Very good.

Mr. Chairman, honorable members of the Subcommittee on Family and Human Services, staff, and friends:

Thank you. I certainly appreciate the opportunity to be here this morning and to take part in what I feel is a very important communications link for our Nation. I was asked to submit the title of my remarks for this morning's session, "The Role of Images to the Unity, Stability and Maintenance of the American Black Family."

I will make my presentation based upon fantasy and reality. The fantasy aspect deals with our American need and desire to have heroes, whether they are real or fantasy. I can recall, and I am sure that you recall the fantasy heroes presented via radio of "Sergeant Preston of the Yukon," "Hoppy," "the Shadow," comic book and comic strip characters, and more contemporary characters, such as Superman, the "Six Million Dollar Man," and others. These fantasies even extend beyond that, to such exciting characters as Peter Pan, the Ozzie and Harriet, and Leave It to Beaver shows who continue to project the perfect white family.

My imagination was allowed to expand to all horizons of this Earth and even to outer space during radio presentations. None of these super hero images were black, although they did express philosophies of morality that particularly enhanced the American way. And again none of them primarily features blacks. This was noticeable to my then 5-year-old son, who asked me why none of the popular superhero fantasy images were black.

He and I, in collaboration, discussed, created and designed a black superhero image by the name of Radian. Our storybook conversations led to the creation of the book "Introducing Radian," as well as the human prototype. Radian has caused a glow to cover the faces of children throughout southern California, especially black children, as he travels to schools, clubs, churches, and even poolhalls, and arcades. Sometime selected as absent fathers or fantasy lovers. I recall during the Watts Christmas parade that Radian stepped off of his car and went to the curb and handed a little black girl a rose, probably the first flower that she had ever received and maybe the last. He discusses his 10 rules centered around morality.

His image of strength, intellect, and especially the philosophy of his guidelines have been effective in filling the void not appreciated by the entertainment industry.

The news and international media have been extremely kind. However, unfortunately, the entertainment industry appears to have conditioned our Nation somewhat as Pavlov conditioned his dogs. This exists to the extent that many works are not perceived as creditable in the entertainment industry unless seen on American entertainment television. As good as the concept and reviews of Radian, it continues to be rejected by the entertainment industry, primarily television and motion pictures.

The concept has unlimited potential as it relates to its Pied Piper influence of leading young children away from crime and drugs, and providing a positive image for those who have no fantasy image. The philosophy can potentially become one of our most effective exports, particularly to Third World nations, that is positive images originating from the United States with skin color of concentrated pigmentation. This could become a part of a visual Peace Corps.

I still visualize and remember how black American life was depicted and used as propaganda during the Iran hostage crisis.

I am impressed that after the death of Premier Brezhnev, a newspaper article appeared related to his visit to the United States that he had made. He attended a cocktail reception with dignitaries and celebrities; looked across the room and saw one of his fantasy heroes, walked across that room and literally placed a bear hug on that person. That person was Chuck Connors, the Rifleman. Therefore, American television traverses the entirety of our globe and also penetrates between the molecular and atomic structure of the Iron Curtain to reach its Premier. The Premier of Soviet Russia had his American superhero on television; why cannot little black children?

Suppose an alien society was monitoring our television signals, particularly entertainment. What would they think of blacks? In their words, probably not much. They would probably say they are depicted as poorly on television as the ones the earthlings refer to as women.

The Radian concept goes beyond fantasy into reality in that it was my intention, after creating and producing the Radian book some 1½ years ago, to make Radian significant to our society. My desire was to make this accepted fantasy a catalyst which may cause a change in reality. The Radian concept has been and will be involved with many aspects of our society. It has thus far presented a well-attended seminar on the effects of PCP, phencyclodine, on the heart and brain.

There are plans to create a billboard or billboards to counter some of the cigarette and alcohol billboards that saturate our community. It is attractive and demonstrative, and you have it in your package. The most recent activity developing out of the Radian concept is the "Adopt-A-Family Endowment." The title was carefully selected in that we did not want to see the term "project" because it tends to convey a desire for Government funding. This concept is based on volunteerism in which the fantasy of Radian can attract the attention of young people, while it returns positive images of the black community back to areas in which less fortunate blacks reside. The concept is to have a team of black professionals and business persons give of themselves primarily as imagines, in that most black professionals and business persons are only one generation removed from those continuing to live in deprivation. This contact, communication and image could conceivably allow those deprived, to know that they can also cross the barriers of deprivation and become productive, successful professionals. They also give of their services for 1 year with no expectation of tax writeoff and the like.

The team consists of a medical doctor, dentist, tutor, accountant, attorney and dietitian, with ancillary professionals as needed. This team of professionals is working with the family in all aspects of their existence, including personal fellowship at the home of the adopted family and the professionals. An educational trust bond has been established under the Radian Scholarship Fund to help the educational needs of the family. Initially, $200 per month is being set aside for this purpose. We realize this is not a panacea, but it surely can be penicillin which may attempt to ward off some of the diseases of deprivation and allow one's own inner body defenses to overcome the malignant infections of deprivation, while we redirect and inspire this family. They may move along a path that may remove them from the pit of welfare. The litter instinct is as natural with blacks as it is in any other race, it is particularly keen following the family separation imposed by slavery and now economic separation mandated by the welfare system.

This simple concept has become very popular within the past two weeks of its initiation. We have received responses from throughout the United States plus any inquiry from Europe through the information received through the Stars and Stripes newspaper.

More recently, a group of over 200 black professionals and business persons met with James and Essie McNeese, the first adopted family, and have committed themselves to adopt other families in southern California.

I come before you, not as an expert on the family, but as an American citizen who sees a need and, along with other black professionals, is actively involved in attempting to eliminate that need. This simple but unique concept can become a vehicle that may inspire thousands of black families, consisting of hundreds of thousands of people, away from welfare and toward self-pride, motivation, and success.

This effort is one of volunteerism with no request for funding nor solicitation from America. The only request that we make of Americans is to give of themselves.

I ask nothing tangible of this committee, only acceptance and endorsement of this concept. The only aid that I can see the Federal Government rendering is the utilization of its massive communications network to perpetuate this and similar ideas, including film of black fantasy and reality as it relates to the true black family. This could become an inspiration to us here in America. Whereas we do not solicit nor request any type of funding from this subcommittee, we do request that you, as responsible elected leaders, use your influence towaid changing the images presented, particularly by the film and television industry as it relates to blacks.

"A mind is a terrible thing to waste" is the slogan of the United Negro College Fund. I submit that a black child's mind is a terrible thing to brainwash in media negativity.

The Radian concept can continue in its neophyte efforts and can be aided by private industry if they so desire. If private industry wishes to assure that these programs become successful, they can join us in our anticrime/antidrug program, adopt a family. The Radian film production, both television and education.

I am sure you will agree, the Radian concept, its graphics, message and good will are commendable, and the total Radian philosophy can be worthy for this country as we attack the negative influences and change them to positive actions.

Yes, America is the greatest, the freest and the best country in the world to live. Its riches, comforts, images and opportunities should be shared by all of its citizens who make up the pot. You can give this effort, based on a fantasy, promoting positive image, pushing the American volunteer spirit to heights that it may one day direct some small boy or girl out of the snake pits of welfare, the deprivation of the ghetto, into a suite of honor in the United States Senate or maybe even the White House, and one of them may one day bring peace to this world that we all must have, and the world surely needs.

Thank you.

Senator **Denton**. Thank you, Dr. Mays.

[The questions asked by Senator Denton along with responses follow:]

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October 19, 1983

Senator Jeremiah Denton, Chairman
Subcommittee on Family and Human Services
United States Senate
Committee on Human Resources
Room 4230
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Denton:

I must say that I was extremely pleased to have the opportunity to appear before the Subcommittee. I considered it quite an honor for a Black man who was raised in the south and who has observed and been a victim of extreme racism, have the opportunity to appear before such a distinguished body. I was extremely pleased on experiencing the efficiency, thoroughness and sincerity of your staff.

Although our contact was short lived, it did provide me an opportunity to know that one of our most powerful political leaders, represented by yourself, expresses sincerity, knowledge and a determination to make America the dream that we all wish to enjoy.

I will answer the questions that you submitted as an addendum to my statement presented before the Subcommittee on October 4, 1983. The title is "BROKEN FAMILIES - THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT".

Questions for Panel No. 1 - My response to Question No. 1 appears to allow me a choice of answers; however, I will answer both A and B.

A - KEEPING THE FATHER WITH HIS FAMILY - My response is that the litter instinct for the male whether poor or wealthy is one of the male's greatest drives. My personal moral belief is that the family should exist as a gestalt, meaning as a singular total unit. Therefore, I would advocate maintaining the father with the family. I am not a psychiatrist, sociologist nor do I consider myself an expert in human behavior. I do, however, feel that many poor fathers leave the home because they are unable to maintain the litter, primarily financially which can be a cause of ego deflating personal worth. They simply bang their heads against the wall until they can't tolerate the pain.

of failure before their spouse and children, either express hostility, verbally or physically; or escape the environment of their hurt. Therefore, government programs should be designed to give the father work; that is gainful employment. Welfare simply decimates his self worth. We are "living in hard times". However, I do recall as a little boy the WPA and these types of programs which can be very instrumental in helping to reconstruct and clean our cities. There are many men now walking the streets, despondent or with a gun attempting to regain their self worth.

B - RAISE THE MOTHER AND CHILDREN OUT OF POVERTY - I can answer this question with somewhat of a parable. It is better to be unhappy with money in your pocket than be unhappy and broke. To my knowledge, no studies that I know of have indicated that by providing mothers with monies will assure success of the family. The success of the family with the mother being that catalyst which will stimulate and motivate the family out of poverty. The mother and children should be given opportunities to further enhance themselves without giving them a "free gift" which simply causes the metabolism of their minds and bodies to become arrested as does occur with welfare.

As to how much government support is needed for these programs, creation of jobs to give people work; creation of educational programs along with counseling and promoting individual private involvement in the cohesion and maintenance of either the home with the father or the lone parent mother. We have such programs as Big Brother; why can't we have programs such as Aunt Help or Uncle Help.

1-2 - WHAT KIND OF PROGRAMS HAVE THE GREATEST POSITIVE INFLUENCE IN DEVELOPING THE CHARACTER AND SECURITY OF CHILDREN AND TEENAGERS - I feel that questions Nos. 1 and 2 overlap in that there must be programs developed by the government to motivate and stimulate knowledge. That is, educational knowledge to prepare young people to become gainfully employed persons in our society. My favorite topic at this time relates to images. I can preface this again by quoting Joe Louis who said when preparing to fight Billy Conn , "you can run but you can't hide." I say this to make the point that there are needs for positive images in all sectors of our society. Our images or the images I feel we should emulate are many times ridiculed, particularly by the press and by their behavior. I dare say that the

President of the United States is referred to as Reagan with sarcasm, much more frequently than he is given his earned title of Mr. President. There have been so many jokes about Presidents Ford, Carter and particularly Nixon that the title President almost becomes a joke to adults and children alike. We must give credit and due recognition to the positive images of our society. We must again make young people want to become honest politicians, ministers, lawyers, doctors, postmen, police officers; make those positions in our society again based upon the honesty and integrity of those serving along with giving just due to the prestige of those who have earned those positions.

3 - WHAT CAN GOVERNMENT POLICY MAKERS DO TO CREATE POLICIES THAT CREATE GREATER INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAMILY AND CHILDREN - I do not quite understand this question, but I will attempt to answer it to the best of my ability. I feel that the government can be supportive in the manner in which I elucidated in responses one and two; that is, building a strong family unit through preparing that family for the economic and social complexities of our society and detecting, stimulating and motivating those positive behavioral characteristics of those individual family members.

4 - Concerning the article titled "Hollywood in America - The Odd Couple" - I almost laughed when I read this article. I was not aware of its existence and I'm happy that you sent it to me. It revealed what I really thought. The executives and producers, as well as writers of Hollywood simply talk out of both sides of their mouths. Indians have said, white man speaks with fork tongue. As you are able to observe, 99% of the producers, writers, etcetera are white men. They are fake liberals as so clearly indicated by the article. They make a positive inference in the polling information provided, but when it comes down to doing something very positive as relates to their cash flow, they simply, as one of the commercials for one of the automobile rental companies so graphically illustrates; it shows the person simply lying out of their nose. It is very interesting as it relates to blacks. The entertainment media, I feel, is creating as many criminals as poverty is. It has so conditioned our Black young people to think that they should all talk jive talk, bounce the basketball like Magic Johnson; be a pimp like all of the others depicted on TV; become and act very funny, (this is quite ironic) particularly, in our "hard times" when there is nothing funny about the absence of money in the home. They through the depiction of violence are simply preparing young criminals to carry on cold blooded robberies,

> burglaries and murders, as well as any experienced convict could do in juvenile or in prisons. They tend to make heroes out of Black athletes and so rightfully do they deserve this recognition, but by the same token make the Black professional appear secondary and only a bit player in American life. Believe me, this is not true. Not only are they indoctrinating and brainwashing people of America, particularly young children, but also the perception of America by the world. I can summarize this article by simply saying, they are phony.

I may close by stating this. I have presented what I feel and what is felt by every outstanding writer who has reviewed material presented, particularly the concept, plus many other of my writings to the media. The media feels that the quality of creations, as well as, the purpose and profit margin of these creations would be ideal, in that it covers the total expectation of the creation. They have again been phony; lied out of their noses, and have not taken that step toward presenting concepts that I and many other Black writers have presented in order to portray America as it really is. They may walk out of one of the expensive restaurants in Beverly Hills or New York one night and look into the circular hole surrounded by closed steel with the trembling Black hand at the end and see the Frankenstein monster that they have helped to create. I am hoping that that young man's home has in some way, provided him with a conscious during his early phylogenetic psychological growth; that the monster they created won't pull the trigger.

Senator, I really would appreciate your help in any way that you can to make the creative unique programs that we are attempting to do here in Los Angeles become a reality throughout this nation and the most direct and effective way of doing this is through American television.

Thank you again and I am very pleased that we have political leaders of your qualifications.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. MAYS, M.D.

JAM BSS

Senator **Denton**. I found that not only informative but inspirational.

Mrs. Johnson had to leave to catch a plane. Had I known that, I would have asked her questions earlier.

From what I know about Radian, I certainly do endorse it and I will try to support it. You did not read them, but I would like to share Radian's 10 guidelines to a good life, which were written by Dr. James Mays:

One, we are the same in God's eyes.

Two, regularly attend your house of worship.

Three, obey your parents.

Four, love one another.

Five, study your lessons.

Six, obey the law.

Seven, drugs are dangerous.

Eight, you are important.

Nine, do not smoke or drink alcohol.

Ten, maintain good health.

And that is Radian. [Senator displays picture of Radian.] Underneath the picture it says "Radian is a super hero, as the story goes, but he is first an outstanding student. He uses his brain whenever necessary to fight crime and injustice."

I want you to know that we are sort of on the same frequency, Dr. Mays. When I was campaigning in Alabama for the Senate as a Republican candidate, I was often given an introduction which often used the word "hero". I would refute that in my opening remarks. Then I would talk about the real hero of the Vietnam war who to me was a greater hero than any hero in any other war that this country has been involved in. To me the hero was the black corporal walking point at night in the jungle, knowing that each time he put his foot down he might step on a mine. Yet he made that deliberate decision every half second or so, put his weight on the foot and continued to walk in what he considered, perhaps, a just cause—in that which I consider a just cause. He did that while all the racial upheaval was going on back in the United States.

Dr. **Mays**. Well, I served in Vietnam myself with the First Air Cavalry and I know exactly what you are speaking of.

Senator **Denton**. The first time I mentioned that example, I was in a "redneck" town called Ashville, Ala. I hope they will accept my apology for the term, but I do not think they would consider it an insult. When I finished that story, the men—almost all of them were white—stood up and started to clap. After it was over, one of them came up with two buddies and he said, "Admiral, if you are going to continue to give that speech around this State, you better have a bodyguard." But they had liked it.

There are some heroic things going on around this country. I wish the media would pick up on. The real stories of heroism. The single parent trying to make it; the common ordinary housewife who is not a Ph. D., but she is a good mother and a good wife; and men like you.

Dr. **Mays**. Thank you, Senator.

Senator **Denton**. I mentioned Curtis Sliwa, founder of the Guardian Angels. He maintained that a lack of role models is a principal factor in the breaking down of the family in the ghetto for all groups—black, white, and Hispanic.

You say, I believe justly so, that black children lack black super heroes that they can relate to in the media. That is part of my written opening statement, also. White children, however, have had many superhero images that serve as role models, but they are often not the right kind of superhero images.

For example, white children and their families continue to experience multigenerational dependency on welfare, family breakdown, or a propensity for committing crimes. I gather you feel your program will help make an impact primarily because you send a successful professional into the home as a living example, and Mr. Sliwa said that is precisely what was needed.

Dr. **Mays**. Yes.

Senator **Denton**. You mentioned the funding of your organization. Would you describe it to me one more time? How is it funded?

Dr. **Mays**. Well, this is an individual, shall we say, sacrifice, or a payback in that most black professionals are one generation removed from those persons deprived. So we do not want any method of obtaining a tax writeoff of any type. These people must give of themselves, and the persons volunteering must be sincere because there is no avenue of escape.

Senator **Denton**. Well, I would like for you to know that I as an individual and as a Senator will support you to the degree that is proper.

I am trying to promote the showing in the United States of a movie which was produced by a group concerned about moral issues at the international level. The heroine of the movie—and this movie was made in the 1930's—was shown in Atlanta at that time to standing room only audiences. This was before desegregation. Therefore, they had a plan by which the blacks would come in one side and the whites would come in on the other. The movie had such an impact that on the second day of the movie, they all came in the same door.

Dr. **Mays**. That is beautiful.

Senator **Denton**. The heroine of the movie is Mary McLeod Bethune, who started the first black college in the United States.

Dr. **Mays**. Yes.

Senator **Denton**. I am going to try to find a way to get the movie shown—those parts which tell the Bethune story only. I believe people, still today, respond to that movie. It is a tremendous movie. It is called "The Crowning Experience."

Dr. Mays, have you experienced any interference on the part of State or local government in your program that causes operational difficulties for you or that counteract the effect of your program?

Dr. **Mays**. No, not at this juncture. It is very interesting because a reporter asked that question to some extent. They said if you give this family money, then the welfare system may crack down on them and remove some of their welfare assistance. And I retort with the statement that the attorneys and the rich people in Beverly Hills have their attorneys and they have ways of getting around that, so we have an attorney in this group, and he came up with the concept of an educational trust. And therefore, from the standpoint of American currency being given to the family, we do not conceive of any problems at this time.

Senator **Denton**. Well, thank you very much, Dr. Mays, and I hope we stay in touch. As your Adopt-A-Family Endowment proceeds.

Dr. **Mays**. Thank you.

[The following material was submitted for the record.]

RADIAN

James Four Productions Inc.

9214 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, CA 90003 • (213) 777-1764

INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of the RADIAN concept is to develop and maintain programs that will present a positive black image for the youth of today and the future. The graphics, good messages and superior intellect will happen because the message is action, not inaction or procrastination.

According to remarks made by Art Linkletter; sometime ago he was asked by his late close friend Walt Disney to invest in a park that would be recreational, educational and fun, and at the same time provide a place for families to gather. Even though I was as excited as he was, I thought it might be a "Pipe Dream", "Today, I wished, I had not listened to my first thoughts...today I am millions of dollars shy, because I didn't take the risk".

The proceeding statement is true and we are providing for you concepts in action, the key is productivity---meaning "What you get out for what you put in".

One of the keys to productivity is not to work harder but to work smarter...Learn how to use the tools you already have to better effect. Buy new tools that can earn their costs back rapidly.

What is Radian All About?

"Radian" is a Super Hero; as the story goes, but he is first an outstanding student...he uses his brain whenever necessary to fight crime and injustice.

Radian portrays an image, that all kids can relate to. The image means a picture in the mind that develops impressions and those impressions are firmly fixed images in the mind.

You, as a member of the media, represent an image that is firmly fixed in the minds of people worldwide.

The media is the most powerful molder of images and impressions outside and many times inside the home.

There is a complete void of well known fantasy super hero images for Black children. A total lack of identity for Black children dates back to "The Green Hornet", Lone Ranger, Flash Gordon, Batman and Robin, Superman, Spiderman, Wonder Woman and many, many more have not given our Black youngsters a truly available super hero.

Radian is innovative, informative and entertaining. He will be used to project a much needed positive role model for the youth of today, especially Black people.

We believe that you will appreciate the positive effects the Radian concept can have on children with his role model image, that conveys self-pride, anti-drug, anti-crime philosophy.

While the live Radian is presently visiting community groups, schools, and other groups concerned with the uplifting of today's youth, we are prepared to carry the Radian concept whereever the request comes from, as long as it is in conjunction with providing a positive image and uplifting young people.

The Radian concept's success depends upon the power of the media; the same media that has neglected positive Black presentations.

RADIAN IS HERE ! ! !   IT'S ABOUT TIME ! ! !   RADIAN IS HERE ! ! !

RADIAN'S ANTI-CRIME/ANTI-DRUG PROJECT

This project is in keeping with the expressed concerns of many citizens throughout the Los Angeles area.

1. To foster greater understanding for the problems of drug abuse in our communities.

2. To develop broader participation in combatting crime and drugs.

3. To foster greater understanding of law enforcement, business and government efforts towards minimizing crime and drug abuse in the county of Los Angeles.

4. Develop an acceptable image for presentation to the media (news, TV and motion picture) in this time of need for positive black roles.

The project committee has developed this project in order to create a more positive image and influential role model for the youth in our communities, and offer innovative ways for members in the community to become more involved in the preventive anti-crime/anti-drug campaign.

It is no secret that crime and drug abuse has risen at an alarming rate in our communities, however, as a result of the neighborhood watch programs a "ray of hope" has shown through in the area of (neighborhood burglaries). Now we stand at the crossroads of directing the movement towards a complete anti-crime/anti-drug philosophy. This trend will not only affect our youth, but the nation as a whole. RADIAN believes firmly that the direction must be one of increasing partnership between persons of goodwill, between law enforcement and residents.

The committee is aware of the need for presentations of positive prospects for television and motion picture production---the RADIAN concept provides a non-controversial method to reach the masses of viewers. It should be difficult for TV and motion picture producers to reject such an innovative and worthwhile project.

Thus, as we work more and more intensively to meet the youth problems of today, we of the RADIAN Anti-crime/Anti-drug project need more than ever, the support of all our old and new friends to carry out our missions.

RADIAN ANTI-CRIME/ANTI-DRUG PROJECT

OBJECTIVES:

1. Provide a much needed positive image for all children, especially black children.
2. Provide a Pied Piper to lead children away from crime and drugs.
3. Provide guidelines for all of us to follow, ranging from morality, through drugs and health via the 10 (commandments) Rules of RADIAN.
4. Reveal the closeness of a father-son relationship, especially black, which has not previously been presented.
5. Motivate young people to pursue educational excellence via the RADIAN Scholarship Fund for needy students A, B or C students and for the human protypes. Reading improvement, etc.
6. Present the RADIAN concept with the RADIAN Prototypes conveying the philosophy throughout the United States. (An example: a sophisticated Ronald McDonald)
7. Spread the RADIAN Prototype and concept throughout the world.
8. Place special emphasis on the spread throughout the third world in particular (this would be effective in projecting America (U.S.) in a positive image similar to the Peace Corps.
9. Establish relationships with law enforcement, civic groups, etc., in their efforts to civilize our society.
10. Develop symposia, family, drug and alcohol counseling centers.

WHO? WHAT? WHERE? IS RADIAN

RADIAN began in the mind of Cardiologist/author James A. Mays, M.D., as he sought a Black fantasy role model for his five-year-old son, who had adopted Apollo Creed of the movies "Rocky" and "Rocky II" as a hero. However, Mays saw Apollo Creed, Rocky's Black nemesis, as somewhat of a villain. From Mays' fertile imagination RADIAN emerged.

RADIAN is a superhero in the "mold" of Spiderman, Wonder Woman and Captain America. He does not address social issues, but fights all types of crime and injustice. Mays says, "He's Black, but he's a superhero for all kids".

This fictional character's African heritage unfolds as a powerful, dynamic story, creating an image that will elevate and inspire the hopes and dreams of Black children everywhere. A story that is unique in concept and boldly written to educate, intrigue, inspire and emulate. The African heritage of his fictional character (RADIAN) unfolds as a powerful, explosive story about an image that brings new dimensions as a fantasy hero. Unlike the present heroes, RADIAN will revolutionize and rekindle the hopes and dreams of Black children with clarity and vision.

America is a nation of hero-worshippers. The media, particularly television, tends to develop those images that develop profits. Their philosophy of profit has not provided comparable image representation for minorities.

Since our society functions on the supply-demand concept, a dark skinned hero would be in great demand. The image would address the fantasy needs of children, particularly Black children, and can represent a perfect role model. Such a fantasy hero to fill that thirst, and demand, is here, and his name is "RADIAN".

RADIAN SCHOLARSHIP

The RADIAN Scholarship was established and designed to aid the graduating high school students, who have consistently maintained a grade point average of 2.0 to 2.5 and have made a maximum effort to exemplify satisfactory citizenship.

The applicant must plan to attend college and eventually provide some service to the black community specifically and this country generally.

Special consideration will be given to students who are interested in the elimination of hypertension, high blood pressure and cardiovascular disease among blacks.

We will be awarding five, two thousand dollar ($2,000) scholarships per year, to be selected from 250 nationally recruited applicants.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 29, 1982

Dear Dr. Mays:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning your concept, RADIAN. We have received information on this project from Carl Wallace as well.

Your goal of providing young blacks with a positive role model in order to encourage them to stay free from drugs is worthy. However, we regret that it isn't possible to commit Mrs. Reagan to giving advice or assistance in further developing the RADIAN concept. Our inability to respond favorably does not reflect upon the merit of your endeavor, but is due to the great number of similar requests sent to the First Lady each week.

We would be happy to have more information on RADIAN for our files should the need arise to call on you in the future. Please include information on RADIAN's development and his recognition in your community at this time, how your organization is funded, performance engagements that are scheduled for RADIAN, and other information you feel would be of interest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Ann Wrobleski

Ann Wrobleski
Director of Projects
Office of the First Lady

James A. Mays, M.D.
Manchester Medical Clinic
2222 West Manchester Boulevard
Inglewood, CA 90305

ADOPT A FAMILY

The Radian concept has been in existance since December 1981, following the production of the book introducing Radian, by James A. Mays, M.D. The philosophy of Radian exceeds the ordinary boundaries of the comic book, in that the Radian book is a color illustrated book, which will allow young children to interpret and enjoy the color picture presentations, and allow older children and adults to interpret, understand and enjoy the story as outlined. The philosophy exceeds the singleness of a comic book, in that it deals with basic morality, through Radian's ten guidelines, which have become well-known throughout Southern California, and via national television and the Associated Press, including feature articles in the two metropolitan newspapers of Los Angeles; the Los Angeles Times, Los Angeles Herald Examiner, and also surrounding corporated and incorporated areas; i.e., Daily Breeze, Los Angeles Sentinel, and practically every newspaper and magazine within the boundaries of Los Angeles. The philosophy specifically teaches, to young and old alike, the perils of crime and drugs. The Radian prototype has visited churches, schools, clubs, arcades and even pool halls, as a pied piper, to attract people, particularly young people, luring them away from crime and drugs, and has been very well received on the news, as well as informational media. The Radian concept is presently working in conjunction with the Inglewood School District, Compton School District and Los Angeles School District, as well as the Los Angeles Police Department, and other law enforcement agencies.

An ingenuous concept has been devised by the Radian philosophy creator, Dr. James Mays, called "Adopt a Family." The concept is as follows: 1) A family has been selected from the Southern California area that fits the criteria of need, motivation and possible future, as influenced by not only the fantasy image Radian, but also by other professionals in the community, acting as a boost toward allowing a way in which they may also enjoy the American dream. Professionals from the community will give their services free of charge. 2) The family will be officially adopted by legal documentation, as prepared by an attorney, for one year. They are to interact with the Radian philosophy, with reciprocal interaction in a symbiosis. 3) The following assistance will be rendered to the family for the one year period: Tutoring will be provided a recognized tutor or tutoring organization, for all aspects of the children's and adult's education for the adoptive year. A community lawyer will provide free legal assistance of all types for a one year period. A physician will provide free medical care beyond the care that the family presently is able to afford free of charge. Two pharmacies have agreed to provide medication beyond that provided, or the family can afford, plus other commodities which are common to that pharmacy. This includes toiletries, through pencils and paper. A recognized dietician will interact with the family toward preparing meals within that family's budget, and making those meals both as nutritious and wholesome as possible, providing hints, giving and receiving recipes, and assuring that family's proper nutrition. An accountant will,without fees, provide all accounting services to that family for one year, including interaction with the head of the household and the children, toward preparation of proper budgeting, with hints on financial management. A dentist will provide free dental care beyond that provided, or beyond the scope of the family's finances, and the Radian superhero prototype will interact with the children and parents on a regular basis, while in costume, to serve as the fantasy outlet, and will participate at birthday parties, school events, as authorized by the school attended, to serve as a pied piper, toward personal and social interaction with the children, as their big brother throughout the one year period. 4) Finances, in the sum of $200 per month, either in kind or in American currency, will be provided as a boost to the family's economy for the one year period, to allow that family to possibly remove some of the financial overload presently existing. 5) The in kind contributions will be so designed as to avoid any threat to the family's receipt of aid from relatives, the government, or any other agencies, in that it is only temporary, and for one year.

PURPOSE

The Radian philosophy, with its real professional adjunct to the family, realizes that it is not a panacea for that family's or society's illnesses, but it can be a penicillin, which will fight off the diseases that infest that family and many others like them that will allow their own personal bodies to have that incentive to ward off the disease of deprivation, and enjoy the wholesomeness of the promise of American living.

The interaction of professionals, particularly blacks, with blacks who are less fortunate, will serve as a positive,real example of success in most instances with the professionals themselves one generation removed from the deprivation of the family which they have collectively adopted. This is vivid from their personal interactions, in that there are very few Rockefeller, Kennedy or Vanderbilt inherited social prominence or financial security exhibited in those professionals volunteering to adopt the families.

This pilot will be well publicized, in order to enlighten Southern California, the nation and the world, of this type of sensitivity of those professionals one generation removed from those whom they are aiding, did in no way represent further pushing the family into the snake pit of Welfare, in that it represents a boost with image motivation.

The purpose is to enlighten, motivate and encourage other professionals, particularly blacks, and other minorities, to interact with those less fortunate, as role model examples, particularly for mitivation of the young minds existing in the household.

One or more of the professionals will agree to allow the family to visit in their home during special holidays; i.e., that less fortunate family will sit, eat and fellowship with the professional person's family on events such as Thanksgiving, Christmas, Memorial Day, Labor Day, and all recognized and unrecognized holidays. They may even go on trips, local and distant, interact on weekends and visit their houses of worship interchangeably. That is, the professional and his or her family interacts with the family at the family's home during one holiday period and the reciprocation during another, as so determined by the two families.

In that the concept was created by Dr. James Mays, creator of Radian and the Radian philosophy, Dr. Mays has agreed to the reciprocation of family visits with the first pilot family selected. That family has presently been selected and the reciprocation has begun.

A Press Conference for purposes of enlightening Southern California, the nation and the world of this most innovative philosophy will take place on and around September 07, 1983, at the home and on the front porch of the family selected, in order to initiate the interaction and preparation for the children to begin school the following week, and as previously stated, to motivate other professionals, organizations and even to enlighten local and federal government, and particularly the present White House, of the desires of minorities, particularly blacks, for this initial pilot program, that black professionals are interested in less fortunate blacks, and are willing to lift ourselves up by our boot straps, and will seek endorsement from all levels of government and all aspects of our society, to make this a universal philosophy that will make America the home of the brave and truly the land of the free.

(NOTE: Due to printing limitations and in the interest of economy, certain other material accompanying Dr. Mays' statement was retained in the files of the Committee.)

Senator **Denton**. We are now ready for the final panel. I will ask Ms. Betty Friedan, who is coming to Washington fresh from her adventure—which I hope she will tell us about—to come forward. George Gilder who is a very well known, respected scholar and author wrote "Wealth and Poverty," "Visible Man," and "Sexual Suicide." Mr. Gilder is in Dallas temporarily and did us a great favor and, I think, a service to his country, in coming up to Washington, today. We very much appreciate your coming, Mr. Gilder. Mrs. Brigitte Berger is the author of "The War Over the Family," a book which, like Ms. Friedan's, has commanded great contemporary interest. Ms. Friedan's original best seller, of course, was "The Feminine Mystique." Now her newest book. "The Second Stage," is in the bookstores and commanding, I think, equal interest and very justifiably so.

Ms. Friedan, would you care to begin with an opening statement?

STATEMENTS OF BETTY FRIEDAN, AUTHOR, "THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE" AND "THE SECOND STAGE"; GEORGE GILDER, AUTHOR, "WEALTH AND POVERTY"; AND BRIGITTE BERGER, AUTHOR, "THE WAR OVER THE FAMILY", A PANEL

Ms. **Friedan**. Senator Denton, I am very happy that you invited me here, and recall with pleasure when you were head of the NATO War College and invited me down to debate. And although you might not have agreed with everything I said, you are very fair.

I am here as the author of "The Feminine Mystique" and "The Second Stage," and I am currently a fellow at the Center for Population Studies at Harvard, and I suppose my most immediate qualification for this is that I convened on behalf of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund of which I have just been elected again as "distinguished director," I convened a national assembly on the future of the family in 1979, prior to the White House Conference on the Family. And I said, in convening that Conference, and it is worth, I think, repeating here, I said despite the rhetoric, the family has never ranked high on the American political and economic agenda except as a unit in which to sell things. The business of America, as everyone knows, is business. Until recently it has been man's business.

Now that women are beginning to have an active voice in the economy and in politics, the Nation's agenda may begin truly to include the family, not just because women insist, they do not have that much power yet, but because men have a new stake in the family. The new sharing of parenting and the envy many men are beginning to express now of women's liberation suggests that the family, instead of being enemy territory to feminists, is really the underground through which secretly they reach into every man's life and women must now confront and renew their own need for love and comfort and caring support as well as the needs of children and men for whom I believe we cannot escape bedrock human responsibility.

You see, I, in "The Second Stage," this is oriented in my book, "The Feminine Mystique," what started the woman's movement. Several years ago, I wrote "The Second Stage" because I think that we have moved far enough, although not the complete way, to equality, to voice our own model based on female experience as well as male, and I do believe that the woman's movement to equality, despite media images and stereotypes, has been a primary force strengthening the family, and that it is the job of—where I wrote in this book, in the woman's movement, as you are saying it another way, of American society and American Government, to come to new terms with the family. The family that equality permits the strength in family that equality permits to come to new terms with the evolution of the family, because I as a femininist believe, on the basis of my female experience, my human experience, that the family is the nutrient of our personhood.

I also happen to believe, and I am sorry that I was in the mountains in North Carolina on this outward bound for over 55 and I could not come last week to share my thoughts on the cause of the crisis in the family today. So I just want to give 1 minute to what I think about that.

I think that the crisis in the family today is complex. I do not believe that the family is an endangered species. I think that the family is evolving to new forms, to a new diversity, to a new pluralism, and that when we begin to recognize the strength of each of these forums, and the new long life span that makes our concept of the family of the past simply obsolete or relevant to only, say, one period of life, and then even in that sense not relevant to the reality of most people, that when we begin to bring our thinking and our imagery into consonants with reality, we will understand the strength of various forms of the family and the kind of supports that are needed more than we do today.

I think that when we—the crisis in the family in a way comes from thinking about the family based on one obsolete image or one image that is now an image that is only really lived by a minority of Americans for a few years of their life, the old good Housekeeping seal of approval image, the housewife on top of it, the breadwinner, and the children who always seem to be under 6, in their little separate house with their station wagon, the cat, the dog, this is still our dream, our ideal for many of us, and it has been made very clear in recent years only about 10 percent of American households conform to that image. If we—this is with the woman as the housewife and two of our children.

Twenty percent of American households consist of a mother and father and children, but the mother and father are both breadwinners, are both wage earners. But, indeed, here it is really only 30 percent of households that are mothers and fathers and children living at home. There is another 30 percent, the long lifespan that we live, where there are no children or the children have left home. But the enormous increase of the single parent family that you have discussed here, this is a real family forum that must be dealt with in terms of its reality. And for me, when I speak of the family in my own concern for the family and the evolution of the family, and for women having a voice, coming to new terms in the family, I speak of the traditional family, I speak of the two paycheck family, I speak of the single-parent family, I even speak of the family needs, of the fastest growing group in the population which is people living alone, single person families, most of whom are women over 60, like myself, they have great need for new supports, some kind of housing, new extended family substitutes because the fact is their children and grandchildren are often very far away.

Now, my sense of the causes of the great increase in the divorce rate, which happened in the last decade, nearly a doubling of the divorce rate, now over 40 percent divorce rate, this—I think this, I do not claim to completely understand it, but here are some realities that I think we have to face. The divorce rate has been increasing in the United States, as in every advanced society, since the Civil War, since the industrialization of this country, and with the lengthening of the life span and with the very fruits of our technological development that gives more freedom of choice to people, perhaps it is simply a reality that we must accept that marriages are not necessarily going to last forever, that we can bring up children to think that—that we cannot bring up girls especially to think that a man would take care of them for the rest of their life, is the only thing, you know, that they need because the reality is there is nearly 50 percent likelihood that marriage will end in divorce.

But the figures that you have provided in your own statement, that the majority of Americans do live—in families, that marriages—that marriage sometimes living together without marriage but a permanent commitment is still what human intimacy commitment is our ideal, and we are coming out of a period, I think, of some excess rebellion against forms in the past. As we come out to a new place where women's equality, woman's ability to control her own body, woman's ability to have her own voice gives her a new self respect and a new self-confidence. The values of intimacy and commitment and family are emerging with new strength. They take new forms.

It is my opinion that the extreme increase in the divorce rate of the last decade is a reflection of almost a pathological polarization of sex roles of the 1950's. You see the 1950's, what I call the feminine mystique era, you know, where women were encouraged to marry young, where they gave up their own education at 19 and 18 to put their husbands through college, where early marriage, early motherhood in digression from the evolution of the previous century was a phenomenon that was—which there are many causes that I cannot go into here, but it was not good for women, it was not good for men, it was not good for the family. And the divorce rate, the crisis kind of divorce rate that we saw this last 10 years were those families of the fifties and the sixties, families made in that image where once the children were grown, or before the children were grown, the hostilities bred by those polarized sex roles, the frustrations of women and the excess burden on men, I think, led to a very and acute exacerbation of divorce which is leveling off here. It is leveling off, I think, because today, compared to the fifties—in the fifties, by the age of 24, the great majority of women were married—now by the age of 24, only half the women are married. Women are marrying later, they are marrying with greater sense of their own identity, and self respect and ability to earn. There is less burden on men, there is less excessive dependence, and the resentment bred in the dependence in the women, there is more a choice on the part of both, they are having children later. And there is reason to believe that they may not be so much at risk, as we all know, that teenage marriages are.

Furthermore, let us be realistic about another thing. Most divorce ends a marriage and, you know, there is no evidence that Americans have lost their wish for intimacy commitments for shared support; they are merely expressing it in a different timeframe and in more diverse ways.

I was reading some material recently about—I am working on questions of age now, a new book, "From the Fountain of Age," and I was reading some material about marriages that have lasted 50 years, and what makes them last. What is the characteristic of it? Only a very small minority of them are golden sunset marriages where there is still creative growth. A lot of them are survival marriages where they feel that they have no choice but to stay in the marriage. But this sociologist from Johns Hopkins projected that in the future there would be more golden sunset marriages. Some of them might be second marriages, but in the long lifespan where we are going to live until 80 years or more, and with the new kinds of choice and the new kinds of strength that people are able to bring into marriage, we may see marriages, first or second marriages, lasting like that because, with age, there is increasing need for commitment.

Now, Government policy. I do believe that there are a number of policies, probably in the U.S. Government, today that threaten the security of all—primarily the policies that are creating mass unemployment and economic insecurity. That 10-percent unemployment rate, that is clearly caused, at least in part, by the Reagan economics, the reduction in taxes for the rich, and the nuclear missile buildup, that unemployment rate is having a devastating effect on the single-parent family and on the two-parent family. On the two-paycheck family, which is now often a one-paycheck family involuntarily as the man, very often, is set down in plants, is fired, or the woman is fired from the reduction-in-service jobs, and it is certainly a threat, threatening to the single-paycheck family, where the woman at home has been the housewife and is now forced sometimes to go to work without any skill or experience to get a very good job. But it is devastating to the single paycheck family, and by a woman where the woman's income is the only support of the family. And as we know today, and this is again a matter of a family policy, that you, I think, have addressed, that the child support the men are supposed to pay, they do not pay. And the one good thing that I can say about family policy recently is that we are beginning to have legislation—which I guess you had something to do with—that we can invoke some Government help in collecting child support, though that has to be extended, and so it can be used better across State lines, not just only for women on welfare, but for the women whose pay is not much more than that and who are now not able to use that machinery.

In any event, there is evidence of a 10-percent increase in child abuse and violence within the family directly related to the increase in unemployment.

Senator **Denton**. Excuse me, Ms. Friedan. In all fairness for time, they have the red light on, and the first question will be for you all each to take a Government program and——

Ms. **Friedan**. Could I please finish?

Senator **Denton**. Surely. You can conclude any way you wish.

Ms. **Friedan**. These figures come from Johns Hopkins. There is this 10-percent increase in child abuse and other forms of marital stress and conflicts caused by—directly related to unemployment.

Now, with this increase in unemployment, there is a further threat to family security in the reduction of the services. This is the time when we need more, not less. This is a time when there is a desperate need for child care, where the majority of parents of children have to work outside their home. Two parents or the single parent, the mother is working for necessity, and the Ladies Home Journal, in its June 1983 issue, had a very commendable survey of the heroines of America today that are in fact keeping tbe family going. They may not have very good jobs, but their kind of clerical and service jobs, working in a drycleaning establishment, whatever, are at least preventing the kinds of suicide and the kind of destitution of families that we saw in the Depression, you know, following 1929. But the destruction of services here, the budget cuts that putting a child care, mental health care in the block grant and then reducing that in social security, title 20 of 1981, has been devastating to family security.

The other thing I want to talk about in Government policy that I think is directly related to family security is all of the measures that are affecting women's ability to get jobs and get education. I mean under the Reagan administration, there has not only been the death temporarily of the equal rights amendment, which is more essential than other, because the law protecting equal opportunity for women in employment, protecting against sex discrimination under title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1974, protecting against discrimination in education and guaranteeing woman equal access to higher education, in title 9, the very machinery for endorsing these has been weakened.

Now, teenage pregnancy which, if we are thinking about healthy families, and we must all be very concerned at the increase in teenage pregnancies, and I have been in many countries in Europe this past year and there you find that increase of teenage pregnancy or there is unemployment, but also where they cannot get out of school to get jobs. Or they cannot get the education. Then you find the teenage pregnancy.

So I have to say, you know, that in addition—I mean it is easier to have a baby, to get some sense of self-respect and identity. If you cannot get it, there is no way you can see your way clear to get a job. If there is no education to give you a larger sense of possibilities in your life.

Senator **Denton**. Ms. Friedan, you were very kind to say, that I was fair to you, and I have to be fair. You have been, you know, talking for some amount of time. We want to hear more from you and hear all of your ideas, but I have to——

Ms. **Friedan**. There is one other thing then, and that is, you know, the absolute vital importance of child care with the majority of children working. Now, I cannot even say to you with the majority of parents and children working, I cannot even say to you that certain policies could be improved. There is no Federal assistance to child care now. There really has not been any major legislation suggesting any since the legislation offered by Walter Mondale that Nixon vetoed in 1971. It is a priority, Senator, for your committee, to consider new ways of encouraging and helping child care and encouraging and helping alternate ways of work, more flexible work schedules. I think the Government pioneered in this as they will do it in an alternate work schedule program permitting flex time and part time, which women mainly took advantage of. That has been greatly reduced in the last year. So I submit that it is these policies that you should be concerning yourselves with in terms of the crisis of the family.

Senator **Denton**. Thank you very much, Ms. Friedan. We will hear more from you in the questions. George Gilder will you go ahead with your statement, please, sir?

Mr. **Gilder**. Thank you very much, Senator, and I want to commend you for holding these vital hearings. I think you have heard some of the most important testimony in the history of the Senate. I am thinking in particular Midge Deckter's charge that Americans are now engaging in a widespread practice of child sacrifice, that we are offering up our children on the altar of a false God of selfishness and lust.

I think her contention that we have become a society that punishes virtue and celebrates vice, I think it was a very eloquent and powerful statement, and I urge everybody to read that.

I would like to expand on it, to elaborate on just some of the ways that the Government is fostering illegitimacy, fostering family breakdown and punishing virtue. I think the effects of these policies are manifest now in that the focus on the war on poverty, the focus of the Great Society was on the ghetto. That was its test, that was its preoccupation, that was the target of all social workers and poverty activists, that was the area where the family was most in crisis, and that was the area where these social programs were regarded as having the greatest promise of supporting family integrity.

In 1979, the illegitimacy rate in the—the black illegitimacy rate in the United States rose to 55 percent. Since the black middle class has no great propensity for illegitimacy than middle-class whites, this 55-percent figure indicates the complete collapse of the family in the welfare culture, the complete collapse of the family in the very inner cities where all these social programs focused.

I think many people have maintained that the answer to this problem is still more social programs. The enactment of the agenda of women's liberation, the enactment of ever enlarged agenda family planning and contraception above all without squealing to the relevant parents. And I think it is worth noticing that the entire agenda of the left in family issues has been in effect in Sweden for the last 25 years and the result is that Sweden now has an illegitimacy rate of 40 percent, which is the world's highest. And so that Sweden, in other words, is a white, rich, middle-class nation, has managed to achieve state and social disorder comparable to the worst American slums afflicted with the most destructive of social policies.

I think some of the other solutions that are proposed are also unpersuasive. It has been said that unemployment is the chief problem. Of course, unemployment is always difficult and painful for families. However, it should be understood that during the 1970's, employment in the United States rose 27 percent. We created 19 million net new jobs, two-thirds of those jobs went to women, and all the indices of familial breakdown surged as this—during this period.

We can compare that situation with Europe, which has been acclaimed for its policies. Europe created no net new jobs during the seventies. While our new net jobs rose 27 percent and while we accepted some 11 million immigrants, they shipped immigrants home. The problem is not unemployment, although unemployment is a problem, needless to say. The problem is not inadequate family planning and abortions. These and other instruments of liberation. These instruments are more available than ever before in the history of the human race.

The fundamental problem which—on which I want to focus, because it is the problem that the Senate can address most effectively is an array of social policies of the government which mechanically and inextricably, ambitiously destroy families, particularly the poor. All tax increases since the Second World War have fallen on families with children, in essence all income tax increases. Single people have experienced no increase in taxation, average taxation since the Second World War. Child free couples have experienced no increase in average taxation since the Second World War. Families with children have suffered an increase of between 100 percent and 400 percent, depending on the number of children. The chief reason for this change has been the evaporation of the work of the child care deduction which would be worth nearly $6,000 today if it had risen in pace with incomes and inflation since 1945.

So, during this period, the burden of taxation has steadily and massively shifted from single people and from child free couples and on to married couples. At the same time, as the Labor Department has calculated, the costs of raising children have soared. After one child, your income has to rise 26 percent in order to maintain the same standard of living. After two children, it has to rise 46 percent; after three, 57 percent; and within a decade, when the children start going to school, your real income has to double so, at the same time, that taxation has shifted on to married couples with children. And at the same time, the Congress has expressed all its solicitude for these pluralistic varieties of family culture, at the same time that the singles' penalty gets removed one year, and then they discover this causes a new burden on chiefly couples without children, they eliminate the marriage penalty and further shifting the burden on families raising children during that—those crucial years when the demands on the family are most acute.

All redistribution of income that goes on chiefly takes money away from families with children, because families with children earn much greater incomes than other families do. It is impossible for a female headed family to earn much income. Occasionally they do, if they are led by best selling authors, but most of the time the female headed family suffers an impossible predicament, raising children is a full-time job, so is performing in the work force, and one or the other has to suffer a crunch. So we have what we find is that this continual solicitude toward these varieties of family life and a steady implacable hard heart toward couples with children.

Now, if you are in a welfare culture, however, you do have a solution. At the age of 16, if you are a young girl, trapped in an apartment with a lot of disorder and stress, and the Government offers a way out, at age 16 a girl can get an apartment of her own, a free apartment, she can get several hundred dollars a month, she can get food stamps, she can get legal services, she can get an array of benefits far beyond what any of the men of her acquaintance could earn. And the Government demands one condition for this array of extraordinary benefits to a 16-year old girl, and that condition is that she have an illegitimate child. And needless to say, many children have availed themselves of this Government support by bearing illegitimate children. And so we have this catastrophe of the welfare culture where virtually all children are illegitimate in the welfare culture itself where our part of female headed families struggling desperately with impossible problems.

In particular, these female-headed families cannot even begin to raise boys. The boys are completely beyond their control. They cannot handle it. And so what you have is a great—the boys do not get socialized vertically to adult life. They find their manhood on the street and with other boys and fulfill their masculinity in a conventional way of violence, and that is a further affliction of the tragic families in that welfare culture.

So that meanwhile there is exacerbating the plight of the married mother with children is the campaign to end so-called discrimination against women. I would not go into all the statistics. I presented them many times, but the fact is there is no significant discrimination against women in the work force. And the reason women earn less is because they overwhelmingly prefer not to make the full-time sacrifices required of a career, and they are 11 times more likely to leave the work force voluntarily between the ages of 25 and 55, the prime earning years. The more their credentials and qualifications, the less likely they are to work full time. In other words, while men convert their credentials and qualifications into still greater earnings, women convert their credentials and qualifications into more time with their families, and that is a perfectly reasonable decision for them to make. But it means they will never earn as much as men and that—it is good that they do not because the one condition which a marriage really cannot really survive very well is a woman who has greater income than her husband. That is why, with the ghetto usurping the provider, with the State usurping the provider role in the ghetto, there is virtually very few stable families and it is why women with high incomes have the highest divorce rates. As a matter of fact, they go up almost in proportion.

And there is only one group that even, according to the analysts of discrimination, who always focus on credentials and qualifications as if what really should receive the greatest rewards is a college degree, but there is even, according to those standards which I reject, what is more important is ambition, aggressiveness, hard work than college degrees and gaining high incomes, but there is one group according to the analyses of discrimination who earn too much, and that group that exceeds the earnings which its credentials and qualifications would justify is married men with a high school diploma or less and large families to support. That is it. The only one that really outearns its credentials and qualifications is the group of married men with high school diplomas or less and large families, and families to support. And so equal pay for jobs of comparable work and other such devices come down to an effort to take money and jobs away from lower class men with families and give them to educated women. That is what it is. That is what the campaign is about. And chiefly educated women who do not want to work full time, do not want to commit themselves fully to their careers, who do not want to make the sacrifices which success in the marketplace entail, and they are right not to make those sacrifices because the chief sacrifice the woman would have to make is her family, and she is absolutely right not to make that sacrifice. But it means that all these figures of discrimination against women are just garbage.

The best Government program to address this problem is child allowances. Virtually every civilized industrial country has them but us. They are a simple program that eliminates the present condition which is that the only form of income that increases as the family grows is welfare. That is the current situation in America. The only form of income that increases as the family grows is welfare.

Senator DENTON. Excuse me, Mr. Gilder, you mentioned, we received historic testimony from Midge Decter, we may have just experienced a more historic moment and that is—I almost said hysterical—that is all three of you nodded vigorously when you mentioned that child allowances are a big key to addressing the problem.

Mr. GILDER. Are what?

Senator DENTON. Are a key to addressing the problem or are something efficacious.

Here we have 100 Senators out there on the floor who do not realize that there is unanimity on a family proposal. I will do what I can to discuss it further. I ask you to help with that because it helps both the single parent family and the nuclear family.

Mr. GILDER. But it—and when you go to the White House, they are now contemplating increasing the child deduction as an alternative, they think that is an alternative. And the fact is that does nothing for the lower class family. So I really hope that the Congress does not get distracted by some big campaign to increase the deduction because increasing the deduction will not have a significant impact on the upper income families but—and it will do nothing for the real families on the firing line, which is the lower middle-class family, all of whom, everyone of whom could improve its condition in income and services by breaking up. The whole lower—even many—and a few ascribe any value at all to leisure time, the whole middle-class in America, that is the third quartile of families in America can greatly improve its income and services by breaking up. They do not know it yet. But when you tell them, as in the Denver and Seattle income maintenance experiments, they do break up. If you really—and that is what happened to the poor ghetto family, they send all these lawyers and sociologists and poverty workers into the ghetto and told all these people that they had a right to welfare, and all you have got to do is essentially break up your family, and it does no good whatsoever. Incidentally a lot of people imagine that this has to do with the requirement that you break up your family. It does not have anything to do with the requirement to break up your family.

A family where the men cannot provide for their children, the men leave, and that is as simple as that. If you have a program that makes the man's work optional, you will not do it. And he will leave. And that is why, no matter that removing the man in the house group had no effect whatsoever in family breakdown in the welfare culture. I am the only person who predicted it would have no effect at all. Everybody thought it would have some effect. I said it would have no effect, and it had no effect because men did not leave their families because of some legal requirement that cannot even be vaguely enforced in the welfare communities which I have studied for 5 years.

Senator DENTON. I hope we can discuss that further. In all fairness, you too are overtime now, and we will get back to you and Ms. Friedan after Prof. Brigitte Berger.

Ms. BERGER. I am pleased to have the opportunity to speak before this committee.

For reasons of time——

Senator DENTON. Would you put the microphone closer to you?

Ms. BERGER. For reasons of time, I shall confine myself to the reading of my paper, although I have to deprive myself of the eloquence of the speakers the speakers who have preceded me, however tempting it would have been.

As a sociologist, I have given considerable time and effort to the investigation of a great variety of issues concerning the family—including those that have dominated the public discourse as well as those that have not and, to my mind, should have—and I have come to the firm conviction that the whole relationship between state and family is in need of fundamental rethinking and that the development of a new conceptual framework is the primary task facing those concerned with the American family. To my mind, the foremost issue concerning the family is not so much a question of pushing or opposing specific legislative proposals, but rather of developing an overall way of looking at all relations between family and government.

This need for a new framework is guided, in the main, by two considerations: on the one hand, the limitations of the current framework have become hauntingly visible with the persistence and multiplication, if not magnification, of "targeted" family issues, and that in spite of ever-larger sums disbursed from Federal coffers; and on the other hand, the framework currently in use tends to ignore the values, the hopes and the aspirations of ordinary Americans. It tends to ignore, in particular, the aspirations and hopes of large minority groups, be they now ethnic, racial, or religious.

It is of utmost importance, I think, to recognize that the family—and by that I mean the family in its more traditional form—continues to be the single most central institution of life in contemporary

American society. Americans continue to be committed to the ideal of a normative family, and that is a family consisting of parents—mother and father—caring and raising and being responsible for their children in a common household. To be sure, reality frequently falls short of this ideal, but family arrangements deviating from this norm are more often than not the result of necessity rather than choice.

The persistence of this ideal is not surprising for this type of family has been shown by any empirical measure to be beneficial to individuals at all stages of their lives; above all, it has been shown to be beneficial to children and their distinctive needs. The care and well-being of children, rather than the private behavior of adults, should, of course, be the primary concern for government.

At the same time, it can be demonstrated that the continuing health of this normative family is vital to democracy. It is this type of family, more than any other structure, that has a nearly unique capability to nurture individuals who are both self-reliant and socially responsible, character traits that are indispensable for democracy.

Now, it is taken-for-granted axiom of democracy that governmental attitudes and actions reflect the values and aspirations of its citizens. If this axiom is applied to the government's involvement in the affairs of the family, the past record is distinctly regrettable. For in falling prey to the politics of special interest groups—be they now professional or politically organized marginal groups—governmental policy has inadvertently added to the loss of family autonomy and has in a number of cases seriously undermined the authority of the family.

At the same time, in no other area than that of family life is it more important to be aware of the pluralistic nature of American society. This pluralistic tradition has to be respected and maintained for reasons of the well-being of families as well as the Nation. It is therefore of some importance to recognize the impossibility as well as the undesirability of a uniform national family policy.

Moreover, it is equally important to recognize the need for a kind of limited Americanization with the Government upholding common cultural commitments and a universal law. Governmental recognition of the ideal of the normative family that is so overwhelmingly confirmed by the majority of Americans, in spite of their differences, would, to my mind, give hope for a genuinely pluralistic integration. Hence governments, through its legislative and fiscal authorities, should support the ideal of the normative family and not give preference to whatever new arrangements may appeal to this or that group.

This overall position, sketched here only in its broadest contours, permits us to look at the family and family issues in a particular way. Permit me to illustrate this on hand of three examples:

The first example relates to the notion of "children's rights" that continues to pop up in a great variety of issues ranging from child abuse and foster care to "squeal rules" and education in general.

Our general perspective suggests that Government follow the Hippocratic oath that the most important thing is to do no harm. The Government and its agencies should not become instruments of weakening the family. We would further argue that to contend that minor children have individual rights independent of their parents is ultimately deceptive. Either parents care and are responsible for their children, or the States does through its appointed, monitored, and financed caretakers does. The often traumatic failures of alternative arrangements to the family give credence to this parental rights position. Foster care may serve as a case in point. Here we see today a growing number of children who have been deemed to be in need of being saved from allegedly disorganized and abusive homes, only to be trapped in an equally abusive system—and that in spite of many good intentions, benign regulations and considerable costs to the public. In those tragic cases where a separation of children from their families is indeed necessary, the stringent application of existing laws serve as adequate protection. In these cases of disorganized families who, for whatever reasons, have no other option but to place their children into temporary foster care, placement agencies should be instructed by the Government to be cognizant of and make use of those structures that are of importance to most Americans: the extended family, neighborhood, religious, and volunteeristic organizations.

The second example relates to the area of child care. No doubt, the by now pervasive trend of mothers of young children to participate in the labor force will remain with us for some time to come. This raises the problem of who cares for small children with some urgency. Our perspective proposes that instead of lobbying for direct governmental responsibility and involvement in the establishment and delivery of child care arrangements, a more pluralistic approach is indicated. We should assure in practice, and not only in rhetoric, respect for the great variety of American lifestyles, for their widely varying perceptions and goals, as well as for the distinctive structures in which they are embedded. We should be responsive to the different needs of families and their children. Hence, mechanisms will have to be established that permit individual families the widest possible choice in arranging for the care of their small children. To my mind, the possibility of some sort of child allowance should once more be discussed on State and National levels.

My third example comes from the area of care for the handicapped. Here I think we are fortunate to have a positive example of Government involvement in the area of family life. The general direction of Government actions in the past two decades has fundamentally countered previously existing tendencies to separate the handicapped from their own families. In recognizing the family as the most stable and beneficial structure available for meeting some of the primary needs of special children, in supporting legislation and financial arrangements in this direction, a great victory on behalf of the family has been achieved. The Government should be encouraged to continue to be the champion of the weak and the handicapped whose needs are best served by their own families.

Let me then reiterate my major argument before this committee. The issue facing the Nation today is not so much whether the Government should or should not involve itself in the affairs of the family, but rather the degree and the type of involvement. In the position spelled out here, the primacy of the normative family within a policy frame permitting autonomy and choice to individual families, a middle-ground posture is advocated. This middle-ground position allows us to work toward the new conceptual framework on the relationship between State and family. This middle ground, may I add, may well be able to span the polarization that has occurred in the politics over the family in general, which I deplore, and I know you, Senator Denton, deplore with me.

Senator DENTON. Thank you very much, Mrs. Berger. I forgot to attribute Mrs. Berger with being at Wellesley, and I think her statement speaks for itself as to her qualifications and articulation.

I will ask the three of you a special favor in view of my forcible inability to subtract myself from the view of politics as the art of the possible.

There is a tremendous amount of diversity in our country about how to look at this problem of strengthening the family and taking care of children in our society, what support the Government should provide and what it should not, and so on.

The only way that things get through the Senate floor is when there is agreement. I support those who see some hope in a diminishingly hopeful situation, with respect to what I might call, "the second stage," if you will, Ms. Friedan. This hope applies to both sides, the so-called profamily side, and the femininist side. We have all been living with something for quite awhile. We have been living with a sexual revolution which has had an impact on a large proportion of our society, relatively speaking. We have another sort of revolution in attitudes toward roles of the sexes. In 1981, we cannot deny that 52 percent of the women of working age were in the work force compared to 20 percent who worked outside the home in 1900.

I am going to be going into things and hoping that you all can pick out something that you agree on that we may be able to make progress with here in the Senate and in the Congress

One of the steepest increases has come in the percentage of women with children under 6 years of age who are in the labor force. That percentage is now nearly half. Women have moved into the work force in ever-expanding numbers and with ever-increasing success, and in many cases ever-decreasing time spent at home.

Now, I do not want to inject myself into the argument, but I do want to address one issue here. That is that we do have an interest, I suppose, in maintaining ourselves on this planet, particularly, as citizens of the United States. If we have great decreases in population, it does not matter what we do with tax policy or social welfare programs. We would not be able to take care of social security, for example, if we continue to have a decrease in our population.

Right now, for example, with 2.1 children required per couple to maintain the population, we have a 1.8 birth rate in the United States. In West Germany the rate is 1.2. I have not looked at Sweden, but some of the statistics I got from George Gilder were interesting. We do need, I suppose, then to think about that.

I just returned from West Germany where they are looking at great problems with respect to manpower for their armed services, and with respect to their social-security-type programs. Therefore, I think we could agree that maybe it would be a good idea were we to sustain ourselves in terms of population.

We have some things here now that I will say that I hope are provocative of discussion among you.

With women spending less time at home, I have got to say that Urie Brofenbrenner once said that, "the family is the most humane, effective and economical system of child care known to man." If we agree with that, I would be edified, because then the aim might be of government to strengthen the family rather than only take care of the symptoms which result from not taking care of the problems. This is not to subtract away the extended family or the single parent home, I must emphasize again.

Ms. Friedan says, that women are more and more getting away from thinking about family life. However, in a poll by Parents magazine of women ages 21 to 35, 60 percent of the women regard their family life as their greatest accomplishment. When asked to choose which is most important to them, being a wife and mother or to work outside of the home, 60 percent again chose wife and mother and 18 percent chose work. So I would like for you to discuss or agree on it. I am also hoping that we can agree that it is better to decrease the nearly 50 percent divorce rate than it is to continue to sit by and watch it increase. I do think we have.

Ms. FRIEDAN. I would like to answer that.

Senator DENTON. Yes, go ahead.

Ms. FRIEDAN. I do believe, as you know, I wrote the book, "The Second Stage," because I think we are now in an integration of the feminine focus of the first stage, which was equal opportunity in employment which we had to fight for in our own great society, with the concerns that young women in the feminist era share with the traditional women of the past the concerns of nurture, children of their own needs, and the need—the choice to have children.

I mean, I fought for the right to choose, and the right to choose does not only mean legal access to birth control and abortion, to choose when and whether to have a child, but the ability to choose to have a child, and if women are working because they must, and if you—I do not know about the people in your family, but I have young people now in my family, my daughter and son, are in their twenties and early thirties, there is no way that a family today can get housing, a young family can get housing, an apartment, condominium, even dream of a house, without two incomes.

The great increase in the work force of women with children under 6, even under 3, has caused much more by the economic necessity of the period of inflation and unemployment than it did by the aspirations, although in certain professions, women are unable to keep going into professions, as Professor Gilder said, unless they do continue, most professions do not give extended maternity leave, but I submit that the ability of women and men to do good justice to their parenting, and also meet the economic necessities, requires some support in at least, the Government can take the lead in, I am not saying the Government provide it an awful lot, but it is amazing what can be done with a little leadership.

You see, if you ask women with little children, you know, what they would prefer in terms of work, when they have to work outside of the home, they would prefer to work part time.

Now, Professor Gilder sneers at that. I do not sneer at that. I think it would be marvelous, especially at a time when there is not enough jobs for everyone, if the work week were cut, or if options of flextime and job sharing were provided to women and men, that they could take advantage of in the child rearing years, women and men both, because it is very good, this development for men are sharing more of the child rearing, or where people, where they do not have children, they have to combine study and work, because there are not the loans any more for education, so flextime would permit that, and older people who cannot afford to retire at 65, but do not want to be chained to a 40-hour work week any more, it would be good for them, too.

Now, the Government did have a pioneering project, an alternate work schedule, a part time work force in government jobs, that encompassed flextime, and job sharing, and it was very successful, and for some reason, reflecting against the thinking that Mr. Gilder represents, the Reagan administration has been very opposed to continuing that program, and is even cutting it.

There are studies that have been done in the public school social work, of women both professional and blue collar, white and black, it was done in Yonkers, as a matter of fact, who returned to the work force with one or two children under 3, and it found that these mothers, that the children did find that—incidentally, these, like all parents that worked, the mothers of children, the average time that children are cared for today, beyond their own family, is only 10 hours a week.

I mean, the arrangements that people are making today to care for the children are being shared, primarily the mothers, the fathers, relatives, although there is an increasing need for family substitutes, because even grandmothers are now working, but the idea that because a woman works, or a man works, for that matter, that the children are going to be taken care of by the State, is a wrong idea.

What is merely needed are nursery schools that, those who can afford to pay for them any in way, child care centers that are good for the kids, and they could be financed, as Dr. Berger says, I mean I am for a pluralistic approach, I am for a combination of vouchers, which you people have used in other ways, vouchers, child allowances, which every other nation, except South Africa, have.

And a sliding scale ability to pay, and more generous tax credits, which this Congress, on demand, has done something about, but these young people, are not so young, with one or two children, where both parents work, their main problems were the inflexibility of working hours, and the lack of child care.

Most of the burden of that went on to the mother. Most of the burden went on to the mother, but the mother and father did share, and not only that, and this will interest you, Senator, this study by Sheila Kammerman, of Columbia University social work, showed that for those families where mothers and fathers were both working, with the children under 3, compared to a traditional housewife breadwinner family, there was a higher value put on time spent with the family, and stronger bonds, family bonds, mother, father, children, with that kind of sharing, and also bonds with the rest of the family, you know, the grandparents, and the like, because they needed each other more. This was a very interesting result.

My comment on your question is, no, indeed, do not even contemplate, I am shocked at your even suggesting of policies that would try to prevent women from working outside of the home, because if you do that, you are going to prevent and destroy the security of future families.

In this era, the ability of women to work outside of the home is essential to the mental health of the woman, and the physical health of the family as a whole. Instead of that, let us think about alternate ways of work schedules, and let us think about child care supports in a whole host of pluralistic ways that we could be ingenious enough to develop.

Senator **DENTON**. I did not mean to say in any way, or hint in any way, that I would be in favor of anything that would tend to prevent women from working, who wished to work. If I said something in that direction, I would withdraw it. I do not think I did.

Ms. **FRIEDAN**. Well, even better maternity leave would be a good help, too. You see, there are many places where—I mean, this is a policy, and the Supreme Court even did some bad business about that, that is not even established.

If we want to have people to choose to have more children, we have to give them an opportunity of maternity leave, and the Government should.

Senator **DENTON**. Let us see if the other two can agree with you on anything you said, and let me agree with you on one thing.

I do believe that, coming from the time when we were a subsistent society, basically agricultural, when the men and women worked in the fields together, and then came home, and both took on the roles, which they sorted out amongst themselves, in terms of disciplining the children, nurturing the children, housework, and all of that sort of thing, it was not much debated in society. It was kind of necessitous and natural. Then we did get into the period to which we are referring, in which the men, I believe, and I say this with total sincerity, became chauvinistic.

In this country after World War I, we saw ourselves as having won that war. Men identified with heroes like Charles Lindbergh and Jack Dempsey. I believe that men then looked upon their breadwinning role somewhat presumptuously with respect to their role in their marriages.

I confess that I had probably had an unnecessary depreciative mind set regarding my wife's contribution to what we were doing in our family. I do not think I was enough of a help with respect to the housework.

Now, I believe that it may be that we have come the other way a little bit. I have been discussing with many the fact that now men and women are questioning themselves about what their roles should be at home.

Let us not talk about ERA, and let us not talk about abortion. There we must agree to disagree Ms. Friedan, let us find some things that we agree about. I want to give you my opinion.

I believe that women have been—over the ages—superior, dominant. I believe that you can show that women determine how we spend our money. Ms. Friedan, I do not believe you even believe what you are saying. I think women are stronger than that. I really believe that. I believe that they are not equal, because women can conceive and bear children, and men cannot. But I do think that we are equivalent, but very different. So that is my bias. I love my wife, and I love women a whole lot more than I do men.

Ms. **Friedan**. I love men, too, Senator.

Senator **Denton**. I believe that.

Ms. **Friedan**. But I believe that women have strengths, have strengths, and have sensitivity to the values of life that men unfortunately, under what I would call the masculine mistake, under the macho that still prevails in this country, have been armored.

Senator **Denton**. I believe Playboy's response was Playgirl, and I think then we got into the battle of the sexes.

Ms. **Friedan**. Women need equal opportunity, Senator, women are citizens of this society, and they must be able to earn, they must be able to have an education, and they must be able to have their own voice to put into our politics, into our society and strengths.

Senator **Denton**. All right. What, besides the child allowance, can you agree on that Ms. Friedan just said?

Ms. **Berger**. Let me just interject—

Senator **Denton**. All right, go ahead, Ms. Berger.

Ms. **Berger**. Let me just interject for one moment, a different perspective.

I do not think that it is our—or the task of the Government, to police or regulate women's want to work or not to work. This is a private matter, which is none of the Government's concern, and should not be involved in these discussions here.

What is of interest to the Government is always who takes care of those individuals who cannot care for themselves. So we come back to the issue that Government's concern is with children. I do not think the "woman's question" should preoccupy this Commission at this point at all. This is a much——

Senator **Denton**. This is who I care most about in this matter, children and their happiness and well-being.

Ms. **Berger**. Let me go back to children. So the issue I think, and perhaps Ms. Friedan will agree, and I am sure that George Gilder will agree, should not turn so much around these middle-class women we hear so much about; the ones who tried to find their freedom out of the home, and now are beginning to find out that this freedom is not all that it had been trumped up to be, and now want to go back to the home. Again, that is their problem.

The issue here is that middle-class women who also have families, have a chance of buying that freedom. They can leave the home, and have options for the care of their children at the same time, with fundamentally harming children. I do not know whether this kind of growing trend in the middle classes is good or bad. I do not want to go into that question here, as we could exchange contradictory data endlessly.

The issue then, is what about the lower classes, the working poor, and the nonworking poor. And at that point we logically have to make up the question of child allowance in the form of a voucher system——

Senator **Denton**. More government policy is involved there also.

Ms. Berger. That perhaps is what is involved here too.

In other words, what we do want is to give lower class people, who do not have the resources, the same kind of options which middle-class people already have had for a long time.

Now, at that point, we have to start to involve the Government, and for that reason we must start again a national debate on the question of child allowance.

Again, let me say women may then choose to stay at home, and thus supplement with their own efforts the education of their children; or they may turn to a grandmother; or a father may want to stay home; or a neighbor. My personal preference, based on long studies, are for small units of child care. At the same time I would be willing, since I believe in the importance of options, that families could even choose a Government-run day care center, let's say one that serves 5,000 children a day. The type of care is not at issue here, what is at issue is the question of choice.

Senator Denton. Mr. Gilder?

Mr. Gilder. Yes; I think that day care subsidy should be collapsed, and tax credit should be collapsed into the child allowance. That does provide the option, the woman can determine how she wants to use this additional money, and thus it does not penalize a woman who does choose to stay home with her children during that early period. That is one of the advantages of child allowance.

The only further—that also child allowances relieve some of the pressure to continually increase the minimum wage, because every job cannot support a family, and yet the assumption that every job has to support a family exerts continual pressure to increase the minimum wage, which in turn results in increasing unemployment and poverty among people whose work is not worth as much as the additional money paid.

There is a kind of fantasy here, a middle class fantasy, about what life is like. However, I detect, and talk about flextime, and maternity leaves, and all this nonsense. Because when you really see lower middle class people, and you talk to them, you find that they do not do one job, they do two jobs. They have their kids working. The woman is working, everybody is working, and there is no—to all this flextime, and maternity leaves, is really designed to help the upper class woman competing with lower class men, who gain their income by working much harder than anybody else in this society, and they work harder, and they produce more, and they support the economy, and all these people who are—this is the way economic growth occurs.

There are 16 million small businesses in the United States and these are mostly run by people who work far more than 8-hour days. Their whole lives are devoted to this kind of effort, particularly during the period when they have to support children, and these others—all the talk about, you know, part-time work is a fantasy, it just reveals a complete incomprehension of what life is about, what working life entails.

Ms. Friedan. Senator, I think I have to say one thing. That this sneering of yours at women working, and then——

Mr. Gilder. Who is sneering?

Ms. Friedan. The implication that women are working, somehow taking jobs away, educated women are taking jobs away, uneducated men, that is not what those figures mean at all. That means that why is the job of teaching children, or nursing, worth less than the job of collecting garbage. I mean it is. Equal pay for work of comparable value means that is pay for some of the services that are essential to this society, that have been paid less than they should have been paid, because women do them, and if, in talking about the economy in general, if the women who are now in the work force would leave it tomorrow, this economy would collapse, and you know that.

Mr. **Gilder**. Who is talking about leaving the work force?

Ms. **Friedan**. That is what you are saying. Why do they not just leave the work force?

Senator **Denton**. Professor Berger?

Ms. **Berger**. Let me just turn the discussion into a different direction.

I would like to see some research done on the future of work in this sense. As technology is advancing we see a change in people's needs—and that goes for men as well as for women. Men and women no longer need to be in person at the workplace, and perhaps can run large numbers of occupations out of their own households. I can well imagine that many women, perhaps most women would choose to have the possibility of working out of their household, at least as long as their children are small.

What do such future shifts in the organization of work imply? Could that not be a study the Government could engage in, and could that not be more productive, instead of simply going onto harangue each other about past problems of ideological differences?

Mr. **Gilder**. It is illegal, of course.

Ms. **Berger**. What is?

Mr. **Gilder**. To work out of your household, if it competes with any unionized activity.

Ms. **Berger**. Yes. But the future of technological development is going to force us into this direction any way. There is also a hope that by that time we want to rediscover the household, if we still have a household left. We might have destroyed it in the meantime.

We may find that our children—whom we may wish to take care of in the household, sometime in the future, again have in the meanwhile been farmed out to agencies who will be reluctant to give them up.

Senator **Denton**. Let me just interject one remark here.

We are not talking about untrod ground in some of the experimental measures we are at times advocating. Having been in West Germany for a number of purposes, I did look into this with them for a few days. West Germany provides $50 a month child allowance per child, fully paid maternity benefits for 3 months to a year, and a payment of $500 when the first child is born.

The things that are in debate within the Bundestag are much more advanced than just these benefits. Yet the progress in Germany has included having the lowest birth rate in the world, and one of the higher divorce rates. So I am not sure that the——

Ms. **Berger**. Senator Denton, may I just interject?

I do not think these trends have anything to do with Government policies. These are due to much wider forces, which are beyond any Government's control.

Ms. FRIEDAN. By the way——

Mr. GILDER. These European countries, however, do not have the complete chaos of family breakdown among the poor that we do.

In general, there is—particularly in France, where I have studied most closely, and where the child allowance has been most fully developed, and deeply entrenched, the levels of family breakdown, the poor are not female-headed families, to anywhere near the extent that they are in the United States.

Senator DENTON. Well, I stand corrected on any inference to that country and I do not pretend to match my brief experience in West Germany with your studies.

Ms. Friedan, did you——

Ms. FRIEDAN. I wanted to say that one area that Government policy is affected, that I think we have neglected to mention, is the whole policy of pension and social security now, which really penalizes women terribly if they have not worked outside the home.

I mean, if women have spent many years devoting themselves to home and children, the present social security policy, especially with a high divorce rate, there could be 3 million women that, you know, since minimal old-age social security, of the 122 a month, there was an attempt to remove that altogether, and that was prevented, but it was grandfathered, as you know, so that in the future, unless something is changed, there will be a lot of women, of my generation, who spend a good part of their lives as housewives, and are not therefore entitled, entitle them to the present social security set up, to social security in their own right, or to share in a husband's pension, and they will be in dire straits, and additional burdens upon their children, if the children are going to take that burden, otherwise on society as a whole.

So there is enormously an urgent need for pension in social security form, to insure that women and men have vested interest in pension or social security, if one chooses to—if they choose, that one of them should stay home and take care of children, and of other inequities that at the moment leave women so unprotected in age, and therefore help to do this disparity that exists in the middle years and the younger years, carries over to extreme situation of poverty of women in old age, and these are Government policies that can be changed.

Senator DENTON. The more the family breaks down, the less feeling of obligation to take care of older people within the extended family, I guess. Although some families continue to respect their elders. With that fact, I am not arguing with you. However, the more inflation, the more those people suffer, because they have set up retirement income, and so forth, which become worthless that does relate directly to the importance of the work ethic and the health of the economy to the picture of stronger extended families.

Ms. FRIEDAN. See, I would include that under family policy. I mean I think that the family does not stop. The need for family does not stop when people reach age 60, or 70, or 80, as they are doing now.

But we have to again, look very carefully at the reality. You cannot say well, I mean we know that it is much better for people to be living in the community in their older age, than in nursing homes. We know that some kind of family support is ideal. But to think that peoples' children are going to pick this up, given the mobility of American minds, the geographical mobility of American life, and the facts of working, you know, women and men working, is that what I said in the beginning, and Professor Gilder does not approve of it, we must put American ingenuity into social innovation, and into supports for new family type of housing and community supports that enable people to live out their lives in dignity, in the community, and with the familiar type support that they need in age, even if they are not geographically near their own children.

Senator DENTON. Ms. Friedan, you and Mr. Gilder did not have prepared written statements.

Is there any part of your book—perhaps the latter part—Ms. Friedan, which represents negotiations among the factions warring over the family pointed out by Professor Berger in her book? These include the liberationists, the traditionalists, and the professional knowledge class.

I thought that there was great hope in the latter part of your book. I find myself having adjusted my own attitudes. For example, I have learned that the girls I knew in the eighth grade, who were the best spellers and the best students in math are now able to apply that as compared to the women of the 1940's. I am not against that at all.

I was just pointing out that we might be getting a little confused, even as we argue on one side or the other, about what roles we should be playing. I just note that. I do not want to stop women from working.

I would like permission for Mr. Gilder to submit his article from the Wall Street Journal, of Thursday, September 22, entitled "Child Allowances: Out of the Welfare Trap". We seem to have agreed on the need for us to consider child allowances.

[The article referred to and questions with responses from Mr. Gilder and Ms. Berger and additional information follow:]

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1983

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CHILD ALLOWANCES: OUT OF THE WELFARE TRAP

By George Gilder

Ever since the War on Poverty and the Great Society were enacted nearly 20 years ago, conservatives have argued that these programs could redistribute incomes only at the expense of destroying the incentives and families of the poor.

As the years passed, money spent on social programs grew by a factor of 30 in constant dollars and overwhelmingly dominated the economies of America's inner cities, where "poverty" activists focused their attentions.

The results are now in. With 41% of all black families now headed by women, with 55% of black children born out of wedlock and with black youth unemployment over 50% in many areas, it is evident that conservatives understated their case.

It is thus profoundly sad and demoralizing to see the current response of the left to the wreckage that their social programs have wrought. After the extension of food stamps well into the lower-middle class, academics declare that the welfare system is working well because only a small portion of its expanded "population" are long-term recipients dependent on the system for the bulk of their incomes. This redefinition of the sample group only clouds analysis of what has happened to America's real welfare core.

Antidote to Disaster

The Civil Rights Commission, the New York Times, the marchers on Washington, Business Week's editorialists, and Barbara Honegger and her force join in a chorus asking more welfare and entitlements as the antidote to the disaster created by earlier excesses. But the dimensions of the welfare-state disaster cannot be concealed. Since middle-class blacks show no more illegitimacy than whites, the black rate of 55% indicates a nearly complete breakdown of poor black families in precisely the neighborhoods where the social programs focused. The recent Census Bureau data also show the progress made when parents stay together: The average income of intact black families with children rose during the 1970s to 90% of comparable white households', from 71% at the start of the decade. By contrast, the gap between black and white family incomes overall hasn't narrowed in two decades.

Illegitimacy means that the sons will be brought up in homes where money is seen as an always inadequate entitlement to women from the state. Many of these youths—and I have interviewed hundreds—express no comprehension of the requirements of a job, most have hardly ever met a working man who supports his children. They will find their manhood not by emulating adults but by fierce street rivalries with their peers, gyrating always toward the violence that so often erupts among unconnected men.

But any girl is offered an irresistible solution by the U.S. government. It presents her, at age 16, a chance for independence in an apartment of her own: free housing, medicine, legal assistance, and a combination of payments and food stamps worth several hundred dollars a month.

It is a package far beyond the earning capacity of any of her male acquaintances and it is offered without any requirement of work. There is only one crucial condition. She must bear an illegitimate child.

If she has three children, her effective welfare income in New York State will rise to $6,333, more than 45% above the after-tax earnings of a full-time job at the minimum wage.

Welfare experts will attest to the existence of programs that allow her to marry the father of her offspring without jeopardizing her benefits. But the AFDC program for families with unemployed fathers is hopelessly complicated and subject to withdrawal according to the caprice of bureaucrats.

Long-term improvement of the inner-city culture depends on delegitimizing out-of-wedlock births and legitimizing marriage, even within the welfare system.

With such an overwhelming inducement from the state, millions of young women have indeed launched illegitimate children into the welfare culture. As this behavior becomes accepted in welfare communities, it is adopted by many girls, black and white, without calculation or deceit, as a simple reflection of a way of life.

It may come as a shock to the partisans of the U.S. welfare state that this program is a peculiarity of our nation. The socialists of Germany or Greece would never dream of rewarding every 16-year-old girl who manages to get pregnant with a free apartment of her own.

A welfare culture so arduously and expensively inculcated with all the wiles and wealth of the American government cannot be readily transformed. But long-term improvement depends on delegitimizing out-of-wedlock births and legitimizing marriage, even within the welfare system.

Since 1960, all increases in personal taxation have fallen on married couples with children, whose taxes have risen by between 100% and 400% depending on the number of offspring.

A key reason is the evaporation of the child deduction, which would be worth nearly $6,000 today if it had risen apace with incomes and inflation since World War II. Meanwhile, the costs of bringing up a child have risen rapidly.

According to estimates by the Department of Labor, one child requires a 26% income hike to preserve the same family standard of living, while two children require 46% more than the childless level. After 10 years, as the children grow up, family income must double in real terms.

In the lower middle class, this collision of needs and taxes has created a crisis of conscience in American family life, in which financial incentives conflict sharply with the moral duties of paternal support. With welfare the only source of income that rises as the family grows, lower-middle-class families with children face a serious dilemma.

Congress, however, has devoted none of its reforming concern to families raising children. Instead, it has made their problems worse by first eliminating the so-called "singles penalty" in the tax law, and then in 1981 the "marriage penalty," which chiefly affected two-earner couples without children.

These policies are obviously appealing to the high-flying Washington singles, two-earner child-free couples, homosexuals and the like who dominate the legislative and bureaucratic offices that design these programs. But the results are dangerous to the social fabric.

Married couples with children bear not only the brunt of tax increases, but also the burdens of raising the children who through the Social Security system will support the child-free couples in their retirement. If the mother stays home to care for her children, moreover, she is deprived of a full $800 tax credit for authorized day-care services for two or more offspring.

Exacerbating the plight of the married mother with children is the campaign to end alleged "discrimination" against women in the work force. It turns out that the most sophisticated computer analyses of sex discrimination lead inexorably to only one large group of males significantly benefiting from "sexism"—only one group earning more than their "credentials" and education would seemingly justify. That group comprises lower middle-class men with high school education or less and with large families to support: in other words, the husbands of the very lower-middle-class women already afflicted by the tax and welfare trap.

The best way to change this system and disarm the welfare trap is to convert the current child deduction—along with the day-care subsidy and the equivalent portion of AFDC—into a monthly payment, in most countries called a child allowance, which goes to all families with children, legitimate or illegitimate. Teen-age mothers of illegitimate children, however, should not receive the housing portion of

AFDC but should get their welfare and child allowances through their own mothers. As in civilized countries around the world where it is safe to walk the streets at night, illegitimacy would not be massively favored over legitimate motherhood.

Such a child-allowance program, put into effect without new appropriations, could initially offer a taxable payament of some $25 per month per child. Among active politicians, Daniel Patrick Moynihan once supported such a plan and while in Congress, David Stockman presented a detailed and powerful case for a similar system of tax credits for children. The specifics of the case for child allowances are well put forth by Joseph Piccione in a monograph recently published by the Free Congress Foundation.

It is no panacea. In Sweden, for example, the government swamps its child allowances with overwhelming contrary subsidies for illegitimacy and family breakdown and taxes incomes at marginal rates too high to foster work responsibilities. As the social bankruptcy of secular humanism becomes increasingly evident, churches will have to regain the confidence to teach morality rather than socialism to the poor. But child allowances are a crucial first step toward a sensible welfare and tax system, supporting families rather than subverting them.

None of the other programs of the right or left—from "workfare" and lower minimum wages to more "family planning" and abortions—would have any significant effect on the problem.

A Nightmare

Even the usual remedy of more jobs, particularly for women, would do nothing at all to dent the welfare culture. U.S. employment rose 27% during the last decade with 19 million net new jobs; two-thirds of them went to women while the welfare culture got steadily worse.

Workfare programs for welfare mothers are an administrative nightmare, in practice requiring large day-care expenses and accomplishing nothing of value either for the recipients or society. Having driven the fathers out of the ghetto family by welfare, the government through "workfare" acts to take away the mothers as well.

Until policy makers confront the paramount realities of sex and family, they will continue to multiply the problems they pretend to solve and continue to ravage the lives of the poor in the name of compassion. Current programs will continue to create a criminal underclass of unlisted male welfare beneficiaries who exploit the welfare trap by living off a series of female recipients—and extend it by violence ever deeper into the heart of our cities and our national consciousness.

Mr. Gilder is the author of "Wealth and Poverty."

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS FOR MR. GILDER FROM SENATOR DENTON

1. Guaranteed income programs and all means-tested benefit plans predictably result in family breakdown. They do this by withdrawing a dollar of benefits for each dollar earned. The incentive to earn is lessened, as the experiments show.

   Around the time that incentive disappears, there is the growing awareness in the recipient, if this person is a man with children, that he is unnecessary for their support, because the benefit program has shown the willingness to replace him, dollar for dollar. His role as provider has been taken from him.

   There is no such threat in a child allowance program. The allowance does not replace the father, but helps him in his role. In a child allowance, the father finds an income supplement, not a program to supplant him. Guaranteed income plans drive families apart; child allowances can help hold families together by helping them meet their own needs, and encouraging their efforts.

2. Such criticism is not relevant to family allowances. It also brings with it an incorrect interpretation of the meaning of American ethnic diversity, by perceiving it as a liability to the nation. In reality, American ethnic diversity is a great benefit to national life. By it, we have more sources of growth.

   Family allowances can be successfully applied to any family of any ethnic group which cherishes its life together.

3. In the current climate of welfare reform, the concept of the "truly needy" has become an almost meaningless term, because almost anyone can become truly needy enough to qualify for benefits. "Needy" only takes on meaning when it is applied to certain categories of permanent disability.

   Those who advocate the enforcement approach to welfare problems as the solution fail to realize that welfare has become a subculture in many parts of our cities. People will seek to qualify for the existing or future standards because benefits are higher than low earning pay. The poor see that it doesn't make sense to work for wages less than welfare benefits, and the welfare system has already undermined their families, anyway.

4. The child allowance would not drastically change things. However, it is seen as a universal benefit, and so the mother would not lose all her benefits if she married the father of the child. That is different from the current situation, and provides more hope to these young potential families.

5. The housing provision of welfare is really one of the keys to the high illegitimacy rates. The housing component should be channeled through the mother of the young girl until the age of 18 or even 21. This is the official policy of a number of states, but if the girl declares she is independent, she will get her own benefits.

   Child allowances would not abolish the array of in-kind benefits. The allowance would not radically change the situation here, but it would make an easier transition from welfare dependency to the economic mainstream.

Child allowances would support lower middle class families, all of which would stand to gain economically by breaking up, as things stand now. When families do break up, child raising efforts are often disrupted, and family failure must be corrected by expensive remedial efforts. It is more reasonable to help prevent family failure.

Child allowances also help to reduce the penalty a young girl faces by marrying a minimum wage earner. Accepting his responsibility for his child should be affirmed.

Medicaid is a big problem in this picture, and its linkage to welfare provides an incentive against marriage, because a minimum wage earned may not receive medical coverage through his work. However, these many difficulties can only be approached one at a time. The child allowance is not a panacea.

6. "Creeping welfarism" is a fait d'accompli, and the most popular middle class welfare programs cannot be rescinded.

Attacking child allowances as possible cause of future family instability is to miss the point of the allowances. Families with children, and especially larger families, have a definite contribution to what the future of this nation will be. These families are heavily burdened by the weight of taxation, and the lower income families derive little or no benefit from the presently available exemptions for their children.

It is clearly to the benefit of the nation that family stability be encouraged at all income levels. The more families break down, the more deteriorated the family fabric of society becomes. As this process continues, government will necessarily grow, as well as the programs it must provide.

Child allowances are reasonable and modest supports to the child raising effort. The allowance would not create a work disincentive, but would promote family integrity and links.

Don't exclude child allowances from consideration because there is a fear they could grow too large. Fear of expansion could apply along those lines to fear that police, national defense or garbage collection expenses would get too big. The allowance is intended to be modest in size, to help the family meet its own needs, and not to replace family efforts.

7. The income tax exemption for dependent children is widely used, but varies in tax-reducing value. It gives greatest aid to highest income families and less aid to low income families. Low income families with a greater than average number of children recieve no benefit from the exemption at all. It cannot be called a very effective tool for helping families in their child raising efforts.

Simply raising the current exemption would provide greatest tax reducing impact on high income families, and larger lower income families will receive proportionately less benefit, and some will continue having no benefit at all from the system.

Raising the exemption would also be more expensive than a modest child allowance. A higher exemption would require new taxes on other sectors of the society and economy.

8. An increase of the earned income tax credit would provide help to a family only while it remains within the earning limits of the credit. When the family earnings increase, and it leaves the earned income tax credit zone and moves into the marginal tax rates, it would face taxes that would be confiscatory in comparison to those in the earned income tax credit. The result would be counter-productive. A disincentive to work would be created. In Welfare, Martin Anderson refers to the disincentive created by an increase in the earned income credit as the"poverty wall."

9. The child allowance does not require or suggest the federalization of the state welfare systems. The state systems would remain intact throughout.
   The allowance would have the effect of lowering the absolute value of welfare payments. The child allowance plus AFDC payment in the future would equal today's AFDC payment. Welfare recipients would not lose any thing under the child allowance plan. Actually, they would gain because when they leave AFDC, they would continue to receive the child allowance as all other parents would. If people respond to this family incentive, future welfare programs may actually be smaller. The goal of the child allowance is to help all families become and remain viable, with the consequent strengthening effects on the rest of society.

George Gilder
and
Joseph Piccione

RESPONSES BY MS. BERGER TO SUPPLEMENTAL QUESTIONS

Brigitte Berger
Wellesley College

The three questions posed to me by the Subcommittee on Family and Human Services on the topic of "Broken Families: Role of Government", are not easy to answer. For one, the various trends leading to family fragmentation are of long standing and beyond the immediate control of Governmental actions, and for another, it was precisely the increassing intervention of the Government and its agencies into the affairs of the family that have largely produced such havoc for the family. It could be argued - and I am inclined to do so - the Government instead of alleviating family problems, has magnified if not created them.

For this reason, the chief family issue, when it comes to the Government, is how to get the Government out of the family. In other words, we first have to recognize that the liberal vision of the welfare state has not been good for the family, be they now poor or not.

What the Government as government can do to benefit the family is more in the area of working towards a new policy approach to the family that is guided by the lessons learned from the mistakes of the past.

The Reagan Administration has been the heir of an outmoded, f not harmful, approach to the family. Although the Administration has successfully tried to redirect a number of social issues through its "new federalism" into different channels, it has been singularly unimaginative and ineffective when it comes to the family. It is of utmost importance for the Administration to understand, that budget cutting (though necessary) is not a substitute for a cohesive approach towards the family.

It is difficult for me to overstate the preposterousness of the current situation in which those whe are influential in the public discourse continue to perceive issues, formulate and debate program and finance them (above all the Government) - that run directl counter to the values, expectations and hopes of by far the majority of Americans. The Government in continuing to support precisely those professional and special interest groups (including the financing of research) that have been and continue to the enemies of the family , is supporting a defunct legacy of doing harm to this most vital of all social institutions. (Howard Philipps of the Conservative Caucus has some important truths to say about this).

The situation is even more prepostorous at a time when opportunities to work towards a new policy approach towards the family are genuinely available. Quite a number of different people and groups - often unrelated to each other - have for some time tried to work towards the formulation of a different conceptual framework that will be more beneficial to the family:

The Child and Family Protection Institute (Connaught Marshner)
The Free Congress Foundation (Joseph Piccione)
The Rockford Institute (Allan Carlson)
The National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise (Bob Woodson)
George Steiner (Brookings)
Nathan Glazer (Harvard)
George Gilder (Tyringham)

The most important thing the Reagan Administration could do is to provide through its various agencies , its discretionary funds, and its prestige opportunities for these groups to work together towards a new policy approach towards the family.

That is to say, the "capturing of the middle-ground" I am advocating in my book The War Over the Family can only begin with concrete family policy proposals (that have to be clarified, researched and empirically substantiated) in a "new key". When it comes to family questions, most ordinary people are centrists anyway. What is at issue is a new perspective, a new language and new proposals that reflect the norms, values and hopes of ordinary people.

As it has become obvious by now, I don't think much of the Government 's ability to develop this new approach. This does not mean that the Government is condemned to inaction in the meanwhile. Government could and should support those policy efforts and programs that clearly do no harm to the family:

taxation proposals that benefit the family (see J. Piccione)

family rights issues (Rena Uviller and Bruce Hafen, Ricks College)
(it should be mentioned here that the Government's decision not to persue at this point a policy of "aqueal rules) may be politically wise, but not in the interest of the family and should be revived in a different form in the future)

housing discrimination against large families (Marion Wright Edelman, Children's Defense Fund)
support and extension of meaningful support to the handicapped members of families
holding individuals accountable in their obligations to the family
(and not only in terms of the support payments of absent fathers as the Administration has,wisely, decided, but extend this obligation to other areas as well: the aged,the weak, the handicapped)

rethink in all arms of the Government the possibility of child allowance

give support to any programs that have a "voucher concept" basis

Your question pertaining to governmental programs that are too adult-focused would require a lengthy treatment of the follies of the judiciary in opting for "individual rights" over family rights. In essence, the whole history of the past 50 years has been to give preference to adult presumptive needs and not those of the family, which by definition involve children and the weak members of the family.

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DIANE AHRENS
COUNTY COMMISSIONER
DISTRICT 4

December 9, 1983

The Honorable Jeremiah Denton
United States Senator and Chairman,
Subcommittee on Family and Human Services
A624 Immigration Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Denton:

I appreciated the opportunity to address your Subcommittee on the topic of "Broken Families: Role of Government." I believe the testimony I presented then speaks directly to the follow-up questions you asked of the witnesses so I will not be sending a detailed response. Additionally, I concur with the responses that the National Association of Counties provided to you.

There is one area of concern that I would like to re-emphasize and that is the distinct disincentives to work which were built into the AFDC program, primarily as a result of the 1981 Omnibus Reconciliation Act. I firmly believe that the majority of parents receiving AFDC payments desire to gain employment that will enable them to be self-sufficient members of society. However, the transition from AFDC to independence is difficult. Many AFDC parents are initially only able to obtain low-paying jobs which do not yield enough income to cover the full costs of working and raising a family -- food and clothing, medical care, child care, rent and transportation to name just a few essentials. Because of the AFDC regulations, working parents find that they soon become ineligible for AFDC and Medicaid. They are placed in the untenable position of making too much money to receive assistance but not enough money to survive independently.

Congress can assist families in making the transition to independence by restoring AFDC incentives to work. The program should be amended to allow parents to keep the first $30.00 and one-third of the remaining earnings up to a reasonable cut-off point. The program should have realistic caps for day care and work related expenses and enable Medicaid benefits to be provided beyond the period of AFDC eligibility. If these changes are made, more parents will be willing and able to seek employment and support their families.

Sincerely,

Diane Ahrens
Diane Ahrens
Ramsey County Commissioner

Senator **Denton**. I think we could also probably agree on the need for Government policy to address the pornography situation, which does not help any side of this debate on what is included in family policy.

The U.S. News and World Report had an interesting article not too long ago where the fantasy about the family was that by the time a person is 35 he or she will have been married four or five times. The extended family would then include multiple sets of grandparents that the children would have to deal with. This was featured as Utopia.

I do not think you like that, do you, Ms. Friedan?

Ms. **Friedan**. I do not think that is the pattern.

Senator **Denton**. All right. Good.

Ms. **Friedan**. I will make an educated guess, that in the chaos of our, you know, that we are in, in our society today, that if the sixties and the seventies, and the swinging, and the swingers, and all that was supposed to be such a fun thing, and it did not turn out to be so much fun, you will see, certainly, I think, among women there is a new value for commitment, and the women have not lost either, even in their fight for equality, their concerns for children.

We then point the finger at men, and say, hey, listen, let us liberate men from this machismo, so they have more sensitivity to the values of family life, and then maybe we will really get some sensitivities to the values of family in politics.

And I commend you, Senator, even though we disagree on many things, to recontinue to grow in this area, at least to listen to some of them.

Senator **Denton**. We are trying. I know you do not want to eliminate that machismo totally.

Thank you, all three, very much, and we will be submitting written questions to all of you, and ask you to respond within 10 days, upon receipt.

I want to thank everyone for their interest today, and my best regards to the three of you.

We stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:23 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

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